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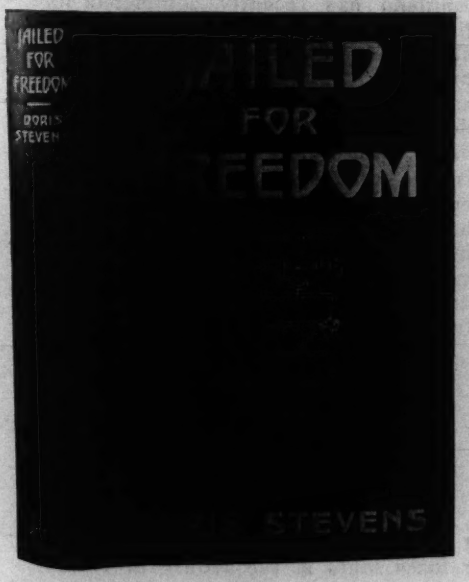

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Notes

A Woman Banker

Indicative of the new prominence of women in the fields of banking and finance is the election of Mrs. C. E. Hearin, as state vice-president for Kentucky of the American Bankers' Association, which has just concluded its annual convention. Mrs. Hearin is assistant cashier of the Farmers' National Bank of Clay, Kentucky, in which she has served in almost every capacity.

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Twelve women engineers of England, finding no great field for the employment of their talents and training in existing organizations, have formed a firm of their own which is to be staffed and managed by women. The "works manager," it is reported, is a girl who has served her apprenticeship and was in charge of a machine shop during the war.

The Women's Cooperative Guild

The Women's Cooperative Guild of England has recently completed its thirty-seventh year with a membership of about 45,000. Formed at first merely to protect the consumer as against the capitalist, it has gradually developed into a social and political body with wide democratic aims and is now considering the question of cooperative women M. P.'s. Four members of the guild are already included in the list of approved cooperative candidates for Parliament and it is hoped to have many more in the near future.

The House of Lords and Ladies?

Viscountess Rhondda has questioned the English precedent which refuses seats in the House of Lords to women, by a petition to the king for a writ of summons to the present parliament as "a peeress of the realm."

There are, apparently, only 35 peeresses in their own right in Great Britain. The answer to Lady Rhondda's petition will apply also to them. There would seem to be no ground for denial of the petition in view of the election of Lady Astor to the House of Commons and the passage of the sex disqualification act. The leading legal opinion of Great Britain is on the side of Lady Rhondda's contention, it is stated.

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The new Eve does not want to rule the world.—*Wilson Follett.*

The sexes wear different boots and bonnets, not different souls.—*George Bernard Shaw.*

In her secret heart, every woman is a potential vampire.—*Theda Bara.*

Only the childless working-woman can afford to have a child; when she has a child she ceases to be able to afford it.—*Floyd Dell.*

The farmer today is receiving the pity of the nation. Why not expend some of it upon the farmer's wife?—*Elizabeth Ellam.*

Contributors' Column

Dr. Edward Hiram Reede is a psychologist of Washington, D. C., and the famous "Dr. X" of the series of psychological studies by Harvey O'Higgins which recently appeared in "McClure's."

Margaret Lane is business manager of "The Liberator," the wife of Winthrop Lane, and the mother of a small boy.

Marcia Mead is a member of the firm of Schenck & Mead, one of the comparatively few firms of women architects in this country.

Katharine Anthony writes on a wide variety of feminist topics, is the author of a number of books, and has just edited the "Freeman" pamphlet, "The Endowment of Motherhood."

Miyo Kohashi was one of the delegates from Japan to the International Congress of Working Women held last winter in Washington, and has since then been studying at Columbia University.

Crystal Eastman, who opens the symposium on what women shall do next, is one of the editors of "The Liberator" and a member of the national advisory council of the Woman's Party.

Of the other symposium contributors, **Zoe Beckley** is a newspaper and magazine writer and during the war European correspondent for various publications.

Miss Mary White Ovington is chairman of the board of directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Miss Eliza H. Lord was the first woman dean of a college in this country.

Walter W. Liggett is connected with a political organization whose program places it on the radical side of the political ledger.

H. E. C. Bryant is Washington correspondent of the New York "World."

SUFFRAGIST

Official Organ of the National Woman's Party

VOL. VIII. No. 10 NOVEMBER, 1920

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THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Resolved, **by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), that the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by legislatures of three-fourths of the several States.**

"ARTICLE—The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

METHOD OF AMENDING THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES ARTICLE V.

"The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the First Article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate."

An Editorial

THIS month saw the final end of the struggle for "votes for women" in so far as this year's elections are concerned and, therefore, undoubtedly for all time.

When the United States Supreme Court, on October 5, refused to hear the various suits attacking the validity of ratification before the November election, it dissipated the antis' last hope of debarring women from voting this year. The cases are still not finally disposed of, and threats and rumors of new cases are still to be heard, but there is no longer a practical danger of the amendment's being invalidated. When all the women of the nation have voted in a national election, public welfare will demand that their right to vote be sustained; otherwise, the country would be thrown into the turmoil of a new election. Such a consideration will have added weight because the decision of the Court will not be determined by any precedent, but will involve the establishment of precedents.

There are no precedents for the questions that are involved. The points brought up in connection with the Tennessee ratification are the legality of a legislature's reconsidering a resolution ratifying a national amendment, and the legality of ratification when an election has not intervened between the submission of an amendment by Congress and its ratification. The point in the case of West Virginia's ratification is: can the national government interfere in the affairs of a state legislature to the extent of determining the legality of the seating and the unseating of its members?

The attack on the New Hampshire and Arkansas ratification involves the legality of ratification when the ratifying resolution was not worded in the same way in both Houses. The attack on the validity of Missouri's ratification involves an interpretation of the Missouri Constitution.

The legal attacks on the amendment thus being disposed of, there is but one thing left—to secure the passage of an enforcement act. Enforcement measures must accompany all legislation, for no law can be considered complete until a penalty is provided for failure to observe it.

In the last session of Congress the Woman's Party secured the introduction of an enforcement act which would probably have been passed if Congress had not adjourned before ratification was completed, and which is still pending. The right to vote under the suffrage amendment is in no way dependent upon such an act. The exercise of the right must, however, be protected, and to this end the passage of the enforcement act will be urged as soon as Congress reconvenes.

Convention of The Woman's Party

To Be Held In Washington, D. C., February 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 1921

THE one hundred and first anniversary of Susan B. Anthony's birth, February 15, has been chosen as the opening day of the national convention of the Woman's Party—a convention which will be given an international character by the presence of women from many European countries.

On Miss Anthony's one hundredth anniversary the one worthy tribute to her memory seemed continued intensive work for the ratification of the amendment. Only now that her work has been fulfilled can the women of America adequately honor Miss Anthony.

The convention which will have the twofold purpose of completing the suffrage work by a celebration of the final great victory, and of deciding upon the future of the Woman's Party, will be held in Washington and will last for five days.

Women from other nations and representatives of all the women's organizations in the United States will be invited to attend the convention in order that the delegates, before deciding upon a program of their own, may know what other women are doing and attempting to do, and in order also not to duplicate the work of other organizations.

On the opening evening the early pioneers of the suffrage movement will be honored by the presentation to the national Capitol of a statue of Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott. The chairman of the Senate Library Committee, Senator Brandegee, who is in charge of such matters, has expressed to the Woman's Party his willingness to accept the statues subject to the approval of Congress. The speech of acceptance on behalf of the House of Representatives will be made by Speaker Gillette.

Following this tribute to the pioneers, the suffrage workers of today will be honored. Those member of the Woman's Party who endured imprisonment have received their emblems of service, the jail pin; at this convention all those who picketed at any time will receive service pins, which are to be made in the form and colors of the Woman's Party banner, with the individual's name engraved on the back. So many hundreds of women held banners at the White House that no complete list of their names was kept. All who picketed are, therefore, asked to send their names to the Woman's Party Headquarters Secretary, in Washington.

The business meeting of the convention will include the reports of the executive committee and department heads of the Woman's Party, and the details of winding up the suffrage campaign.

The final days of the meeting will be given over to a discussion of the future, the decision as to the continuance of the party, and, if it continues, the adoption of a program.

Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, has agreed to act as chairman of the committee in charge of presenting the statue of the pioneers. Prominent women from all parts of the country are to serve on Mrs. Blatch's committee, the membership of which will be announced later.

The Credentials chairman of the convention is Miss Sheldon Jackson, chairman of the District of Columbia branch of the Woman's Party. Mrs. Edmund F. Brennan is chairman of the hospitality committee. All communications concerning the convention are to be addressed in care of the Woman's Party Headquarters, Lafayette Square, Washington.

Call to National Convention

The Executive Committee of the National Woman's Party calls upon the members of the Woman's Party to meet in national convention in Washington, D. C., February 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 1921, to wind up the work of the Woman's Party and to consider whether to disband the organization or to enter upon a new program.

Our last national convention was held in Washington at the opening of President Wilson's second term. At that time the outlook for the federal suffrage amendment was dark. President Wilson was against it. The great political parties were against it. Over a hundred of the necessary votes in Congress were lacking.

Since that convention the campaign for the suffrage amendment has passed from a position where all national political forces were against it to a position of complete triumph. The long struggle now lies behind us.

We ask you to meet with us, at the opening of the new Administration, to decide upon the next step. Having accomplished that which the organization undertook to do shall it go out of existence, or shall it take up a new line of work?

If a new program is undertaken, what shall it be? We ask each member of the Woman's Party to come to the convention to advise as to the next step, or to send her views through a delegate from her branch.

Each branch is entitled to one delegate for every fifty members for whom the twenty-five cents entrance fee has been paid. In addition to the voting delegates, every member is invited to attend as a guest.

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The memorial statue to the suffrage pioneers, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and Lucretia Mott. The photograph was taken in Adelaide Johnson's studio at Carrara in one of the early stages of the statue's development from the block of marble. Mrs. Johnson writes that it will be possible for her to complete her work in time for its presentation to the Capitol during the Woman's Party Convention in February

Legal Attacks on Suffrage Amendment

Last Minute Efforts to Keep Women From the Polls in November Fail

By Sue S. White

ALL fear that legal complications might keep women from voting in the November elections ended when the efforts of the anti-suffragists to advance the hearing of the injunction suit before the United States Supreme Court failed. The amendment is, however, still under attack in the courts and will be until the Supreme Court finally disposes of this case.

The injunction case was dismissed by the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia on October 5th and an appeal taken to the United States Supreme Court, where the plaintiffs (anti-suffragists) entered a motion to advance the hearing to a date preceding the elections. The Supreme Court on October 18th overruled the motion to advance, and the case stands for hearing in regular course, and will not be reached for several months, perhaps not for a year.

The suit was filed on July 7, in the name of Charles S. Fairchild, President of the American Constitutional League, and asked for an injunction against Secretary of State Colby to prevent the issuance of the ratification proclamation, and also against Attorney General Palmer to prevent its enforcement. It was promptly dismissed, and is now pending an appeal in the United States Supreme Court.

The Government's Brief

A brief filed in answer to the Government's motion to dismiss the appeal contains the following statement:

"This motion (to dismiss the appeal) apparently assumes that the object of the suit is limited to the election to be held in November, 1920. This is a mistake. If the proclamation referred to is valid and the Amendment in question has become a part of the Constitution of the United States, it will apply not only to the National election to be held in November, but to all elections to be held in the United States for all time to come. No doubt it is desirable that a decision may be had before the November election, but it is far more important that the people of this country should know what has and what has not become a part of the Constitution under which they live and that election officials for all time to come should know how to regulate registration of voters and the reception of ballots."

Briefs have not yet been filed with the Supreme Court of the United States, but a brief filed by Everett P. Wheeler, representing the anti-suffragists, sets out the points which will probably be relied upon in the hearing before the Supreme Court. The bill claims illegality of ratification by the states of Missouri, New Hampshire, Arkansas, West Virginia and Tennessee, but these claims are urged in the brief as to only Missouri, West Virginia and Tennessee. In the statement of the case in the brief, the basis of the action is set forth as follows:

"1. The so-called amendment is not an amendment at all, but would, if adopted, work a fundamental change in our Government by taking away from the States the power to regulate the suffrage for the offices of the State Governments. It is, therefore, not within the power of amendment given by Article 5. It is also in violation of the 9th and 10th Amendments to the Constitution. These amendments constitute a limit to the power of amendment given by the article.

"2. The ratification of which a certificate has been transmitted to the Secretary of State from the States of Missouri and West Virginia is illegal and void. The ratification by the State of Tennessee since the bill was filed is also illegal and void. The action of the Secretary of State in certifying the ratification of said amendment is ministerial only and so declared by him. He has no power and so declares to investigate the validity of any particular certificate of ratification, nor the validity of the amendment itself.

"3. The rights of the members of the association (referring to the American Constitutional League) as citizens and taxpayers would be irretrievably injured if such proclamation should be issued and if the Attorney General should undertake to enforce the amendment. Such action would give rise to a multiplicity of suits. There would be no remedy in damages to the complainant and to those for whom he sues."

No Amendment at All

Upon the first proposition—that "the so-called amendment is not an amendment at all," anti-suffragists claim:

"There is an intrinsic limit to the power of amendment, under Article V of the Constitution. It must be in harmony with the system of government created by that Constitution and not destructive of it. * * * If, therefore, it can be shown that the right of local self-government is an essential part of the Constitution, the conclusion necessarily follows that a so-called amendment destroying or essentially impairing this is invalid. * * * Now we are confronted by the attempt of the central government, supported by a majority of states, to break down the local self-government of the states. If this succeeds we shall be no longer a federal republic. Our motto—*E pluribus unum*—will be falsified. * * * The power to amend by changing the State Constitutions is the power to destroy. If a majority of the states can change the qualifications for electors prescribed by the constitution of a state against the will of the people of that state and in a manner forbidden by the State Constitution they can in effect destroy the state altogether. * * * The right to regulate local elections for state offices and to determine the qualifications of the voters at such elections is

(*Continued on page* 290)

The Spider and the Fly

The Politician Condescendingly Attempts to Beguile the Woman Voter---But His Web Is Old and May Fail to Hold the Fly

Drawn by Nina E. Allender

"LIKE a youth who, to the astonishment of his mother and sister, has suddenly become aware of his hairbrush and necktie, each political party will dress with care to sue for the favor of our sex."

So is described truthfully and confidingly the spirit of pre-election days in the party camps, the description coming from a campaign document of official Republican origin.

To mothers with "youths" of the age described the simile may suggest other reflections than its author intended. Mothers are more apt to look behind the ears of such young cavaliers than to be dazzled by plastered hair and even the adored cause of the surface cleansing knows that the very suddenness of the transformation bespeaks its temporary nature.

Truth to say, the woman author of the engaging leaflet from which this quotation is taken has fallen victim to the irritating trait which possesses almost all authors of campaign literature for the feebler sex. She is talking down to her readers, consciously speaking, as one always does to a child, in the terms of familiar things only. In the case of women this is taken to mean love, marriage, and housekeeping.

"Choosing one's party is much like choosing one's husband," the leaflet italicizes in a despairing effort to make these dear women understand, adding with an exclamation point of wonder, "and no chit of a girl but feels herself, unaided, capable of doing that!"

It appears, however, that these "chits" of girls who have selected husbands by themselves need advisors when their political choice is involved. "Because of woman's newness in the political field it is especially desirable that her inexperience be supplemented somewhat by party direction," explains the leaflet. *Party* direction, not that of relatives, for "no woman should choose her party because her husband, father or brother belongs to that party." Does this not look perilously like the decay of the home—with the G. O. P. usurping the place of the old-fashioned husband?

Exceedingly weary of the assumption that public issues must be discussed in terms of love and marriage in order to appeal to women voters, one turns with a certain relief to the Democratic leaflet explaining why women will vote for that party, the purpose of which, but not the tone, is similar to the Republican leaflet just described.

Probably the Democrats have not the money to pay an imaginative artist to appeal to the woman mind, or even to pay for the printing of a long, impassioned plea. Or else they have gathered from a diligent study of the times that women are not quite so inexperienced politically as might be supposed. At any rate their document, whatever the truth of its assertions, is brisk and straightforward in tone.

Its headings recognize the fact that women are now in business, in government and in industry, as well as in housework, and parts of the leaflet are successively addressed to these various groups.

In another leaflet, shrewdly titled "What the Democratic Party Offers to Woman Voters," instances of remarkable acumen are to be found. I hold no brief for the arguments advanced here for the capture of the woman vote, but it is refreshing to read that "Women are not supposed to be specially interested or gifted in the matter of finance, but this world-crisis through which we have passed has convinced all but the most stupid of men that many of our long cherished ideas about Woman have a foundation no more substantial than the baseless fabric of a dream."

N. E. A.

Or, in the midst of the chorus of "we did it" on the part of most politicians, how extraordinary to discover in the same leaflet, in reference to the suffrage victory: "The plain, unpalatable fact is, and I suspect that the women of the United States know it very well, that they owe little to any party."

The Democratic Platform

So far as party planks are concerned, the Democrats are also a little more acute than their Republican rivals. They have embodied in their platform most of the social welfare legislation about which it is assumed the woman voter chiefly cares. They urge more money for the Children's Bureau (having never given it enough during their term of power), cooperation with the states in the prohibition of child labor, the protection of maternity and infancy, federal aid to remove illiteracy and increase teachers' salaries, government supervision of the live-stock market, "full" representation of women on all commissions dealing with women's work or women's interests, re-establishment of the federal employment service with women's departments under the direction of technically qualified women, reclassification of government service to remove sex discrimination, continued appropriations for sex education, federal legislation to insure that American women married to aliens, but resident in the United States, may retain their citizenship and that the same process of naturalization will be required for women as men.

The Republican platform includes a plank favoring a federal child labor law, a plank endorsing equal pay for equal service in "all branches of the federal government in which women are employed," and calls for "the independent naturalization of married women."

Some Serious Omissions

Neither party platform mentions the endowment of motherhood, the possibility of a federal act to remove all remaining sex discrimination, federal wage and hour legislation to protect the woman worker, neither calls for women on *all* industrial commissions and tribunals (the Democratic platform calls for women on commissions dealing with women's work). Neither party and neither candidate for the presidency has yet been committed to the appointment of a woman in his cabinet or to the diplomatic service.

All political parties included in their 1920 platforms some kind of suffrage plank. Since ratification has been completed, however, suffrage is a past issue, and the party attitude toward it interesting only as it may indicate the party's future attitude toward women's demands.

The woman voter balancing the cheerful list of promises made by the courting parties, may remember that in the appropriations for the use of the government something less than one per cent has during the past year been granted for all the purposes included in the term social welfare, including the women's bureau, the children's bureau, education, research and public health.

Here, surely, is the touchstone. Judge the politician by his pocketbook just as, to carry out the simile of the Republican leaflet, a suitor who aspires to the role of husband must prove his willingness to share his "earthly goods." It is sufficiently evident that both great parties have indeed made their bow to the woman voter and have brought with them much candy in the form of pre-election promises. It remains to be seen whether this candy is of the brand the woman wants, and if it finds fulfillment in something more substantial.

The Minor Parties

All the minor parties, the Socialist, the Farmer-Labor, the Prohibition parties, have constantly shown a disposition to receive women on equal terms with men in party management, and to include all the social welfare and humanitarian planks suggested by women reformers. So far, however, they have not concerned themselves with specifically feminist issues. Their attitude is usually to assume the inclusion of women in the reforms or changes they advocate, but not specifically to advocate special measures to meet special women's problems.

At the present stage of our political and economic development, many women of all political parties will feel that this special emphasis is necessary and that political parties will, if they really wish to appeal to the woman voter, make perfectly plain that their policy is not the accustomed one of rudely or politely ignoring the special needs and abilities of women. **E. T. M.**

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 23, 1912, OF THE SUFFRAGIST, PUBLISHED MONTHLY AT WASHINGTON, D. C., FOR OCTOBER 1, 1920

City of Washington
District of Columbia

Before me, a notary public, in and for the City and District aforesaid, personally appeared Margaret E. Seltzer, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the business manager of THE SUFFRAGIST, and that the following, is to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, National Woman's Party, Washington, D. C. Editor, Florence Brewer Boeckel, Washington, D. C.; Business Manager, Margaret E. Seltzer, Washington, D. C.

2. That the owners are: National Woman's Party, Executive Committee; Miss Alice Paul, N. J., Chairman; Miss Mabel Vernon, Nev., Secretary; Mrs. Robert Baker, D. C.; Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, N. Y.; Mrs. John Winters Brannan, N. Y.; Miss Lucy Burns, N. Y.; Mrs. Gilson Gardner, D. C.; Mrs. Thomas N. Hepburn, Conn.; Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, Del.; Mrs. Donald R. Hooker, Md.; Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Pa.; Miss Doris Stevens, Neb.; Miss Maud Younger, Cal.; Mrs. Henry G. Leach, N. Y.; Mrs. Richard Wainwright, D. C.

3. That the known bondholders, mortagagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amounts of bonds, mortgages, or other securities, are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company, but also, in cases where the stockholders or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given, also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

MARGARET E. SELTZER.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 25th day of September, 1920.
(Seal) ALBERT H. SHILLINGTON, Notary Public, D. C.

Is There a "Woman-Mind"?

A Psychological-Analysis

By Edward H. Reede

"The 'thinking mind' is fundamentally alike in both sexes."

"It is in the 'feeling mind' . . . that we find the chief point of difference."

"The woman mind from earliest childhood is trained to seek approval as if it were a solid object of desire. A boy accepts his father's goal of property acquisition . . . a tangible object that one may feel and pocket."

"Shall girl children at once be started in a training to achieve an 'object' as a goal, in order to make them fit to cope with male competition?"

NO one at the present time, is reading the stars more earnestly than the "freewoman." The press has confessed her equality with man. It is at last embodied in the laws of the Medes and Persians. It is unquestionable. It is the fact. But the oracles of editorial Delphi are strangely confusing in their reports on the future. Woman wants to know of her destiny, of fame, and of fortune, and how the planets favor her quest. Does the subconscious mind offer any hints? Does the "mind of feeling" of her sex give any hints which her thinking mind can turn to account?

The thinking minds of all people are practically the same. The logical sequence of natural events tends to produce a logical sequence in thinking. "What goes up must come down" is one of the earliest observations of children, and if not at first accepted as someone's opinion, it shortly is verified by experience. It, with other experiences, gives rise to the mental idea of cause and effect, and effect and cause. We begin to think like other people and since others think largely alike, we, too, as children, resemble each other. The intellect, the pure thinking mind, is fundamentally alike in both sexes. There is no superiority of one over the other.

The feeling minds are, also, fundamentally alike in their beginnings. Individuals move with most simple feelings in their world. They move toward their environment, impelled by the feeling of desire, or they flee from it with feelings of fear, and if interferred with in their desires or in their fears, they fight, *i. e.*, they become angry. The story of the feeling mind is the short and simple annals of the instincts.

But, continues Science, the development of the feeling mind from its simple beginnings as desire, fear, and anger, is as varied, just as varied and no more so, than the parents are varied who condition or train these feelings to react. A wolf, a shepherd dog, and a pointer all start with the same feelings but training produces complicated differences.

So the boy-child and the girl-child start life with the same equipment of feeling, but the grown man and woman will be found showing a profoundly different reaction to the same environmental facts.

Children interpret their world through their feelings. They love and hate objects, they feel safe or else afraid, they rage or are indifferent. These objects toward which, and individuals too, they have their first feelings become "symbols." The gypsy that first arouses fear introduces a "symbol" into life, so that "a dark woman" gains a symbolic power to arouse apprehension for a long time. So great a power is this that our "feeling" mind might almost be called "the symbolic mind."

There is no absolute reality to the feeling mind. Facts become symbols by other people's say so. Darkness becomes a symbol of fear because the child takes some one's else opinion. Anything can be made a symbol of feeling by education. Even the chick would not flee from the shadow of the hawk's wing on the grass without its mother's sayso. The feeling mind has but one forward-moving motive and that is "desire." The "desire" of the feeling mind has a unique power. It can conscript for its purpose all the other adaptive machinery of the individual, and when not prevented can also use the "thinking" mind for its purpose. The enormous amount of energy which a "desire motive" can stir up, and the extraordinary dexterities it can develop for its purpose is always a surprise. A young child who has set his "feeling mind" on a wish illustrates Nature's high-point of energy.

It is in the symbols of the feeling mind, those environmental contacts which release forward-moving energy toward a definite goal that we find the chief point of difference between woman and man. It is, reiterates Science, not a difference in mind, but a difference in the use of mind. Repeated uses of mind, like repeated uses of body, form habits. And habit is but an instinct conditioned by symbols; it is as inexorable as instinct itself.

In the family circle occurs the first conditioning, or training of feeling, especially the feelings of desire. The secret of education lies here, in the drawing out of feelings toward facts which are made symbols.

Once a symbol is accepted by the subconscious mind as a desire it goes on about its business and doesn't bother the thinking mind to change it. Woman's fortune lies in the use of her subconscious mind. And this mind from its earliest experiences is not used like the boy's mind. This difference distinguishes the average woman from the average man.

Science says that the woman-mind from earliest childhood is trained to seek "approval" as if it were a solid object of desire. The girl sees her mother, the imitative model of all her new actions, using all the strength of her "feeling-mind" to gain this goal. The "feeling mind," the subconscious, not only acts through imitation, but also by identification, and by sympathetic induction. All these three dexterities are unconscious and involuntary but rigidly create habits. Imita-

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Wages for Mothers

By Eleanor Taylor

A WOMAN'S movement which ignores the woman in the home, particularly the mother, proclaims itself short-sighted and invites failure.

Most women are and will be mothers. A majority of them will always, probably, take care of their children themselves. How incongruous, and how futile, the attempt to free woman merely by factory legislation or by new access to the professions.

Chained within four walls by the demands of the kitchen and the nursery, dependent for support and for her children's life upon the capacity and unselfishness of one man, the mother, lower economically than the wage slave, herself handicapped in the expression of her personality, passes on her handicap to society, her children and to other women.

Must Mothers Be Kitchen Maids?

Society is deprived of the great contributions possible from women freed from the continued round of household drudgery which forms the daily life of some 19,000,000 women in this country. Children fail to get from their mothers the companionship and mental stimulus so vital to real growth. (How many mothers have time to play with their children?) Children of large families may fail to get even proper food and clothing, though the mother works her hands off. Women in industry struggling for a decent living wage find their work measured in terms of the unpaid never-ending toil of the woman in the household. Rebelling against the prevalent lower wage scale for women as compared with men, they are confronted by the fact that men need more money because some have large families to support.

The weak spot in the whole situation is the failure of the mother, through misguided sentiment and self-effacement, to secure proper recognition of the value of her work.

It is true that the importance of the mother and the great service which she renders to the state is sung by poets and mouthed even by the men who ignore the timid requests of the Children's Bureau. But too often this praise cloaks indifference to the real needs of the mother and her babies.

Mothers Are Too Modest

Mothers, woman-like, have asked too little.

Requests for grants of money to teach rules which the mother has no money to carry out are futile. Much more than that will have to be gained before the mother takes her place beside her self-supporting sister, a complete and self-respecting personality.

Neither are the mothers' pension systems established in this country of any great value. These pensions, really widows' pensions, and a form of poor relief, prevail in one form or another in 39 states of the United States and in a few foreign countries. The earliest of the laws was that of Missouri, approved in 1911, which typically provided an allowance for mothers "whose husbands are dead or prisoners, when such mothers are poor and have a child or children under the age of 14 years."

In England such widows or deserted wives, except in the case of wives of soldiers or sailors, are still forced to apply for poor relief or to send their children to institutions. Several attempts have been made by the Labour Party, as well as by Lady Astor, to interest the government in pensions for civilian widows. A bill was actually introduced in February 1920, but ruled out of order, since bills involving the expenditure of large sums of money must emanate from the government and not, as in this instance, from a single member. Since then no promise of action has been obtained from the government.

Endowment of motherhood "means, in short, an approach to the humane maxim 'to each according to his need'; the abolition of hunger for the child; the economic and social emancipation of women; the safeguarding of men from the perils of low-paid competition; and such a leveling up of opportunities as our race has never known in all its history. It makes a ringing call to the vision of both men and women voters."

These widows' pensions, granted usually only on condition of poverty, and too small in most cases to cover more than the barest subsistence for the children with no allowance for the maintenance of the mother, are not to be compared with the larger and more fundamental scheme of motherhood endowment.

The Proposal for Motherhood Endowment

This plan, now being seriously debated in European countries, particularly Great Britain, proceeds from the assumption that all mothers bearing and caring for children are rendering a service to the state and should receive from the state maintenance for themselves during the time of their incapacitation for other work, and for their children during the latter's dependence.

Backing for some form of motherhood endowment has come in Great Britain from prominent men and women, from the national federation of women workers, and from the Scotish Trade Union Congress. The subject was discussed at the international woman's suffrage congress at Geneva last June, but no resolutions were passed. A resolution of the International Council of Women calls for endowment of needy mothers.

The most extensive investigation [1] of the whole subject so far made is that by a private committee in England of which Kathleen D. Courtney, formerly secretary of the British National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, was chairman.

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[1] Just published in this country by B. W. Huebsch, New York. Edited by Katharine Anthony.

Their investigation covered the philosophy of the subject, answers to opposing arguments, and the administration and estimated cost of such a system for Great Britain.

The Case for the Mother

The introduction to this committee's report states the case for motherhood endowment:

> "Foremost among the barriers to equality for women is the system which ignores the mother's service to Society in making a home and rearing children. The mother is still the unchartered servant of the future, who receives from her husband at his discretion, a share in his wages. The system may work, on the average, fairly well. But even if, as is probable, the husband behaves well and 'brings home' the bulk of his earnings, these earnings do not vary with his family needs, and are subject to the arbitrary chances of unemployment and ill-health. And its best the system leaves the woman with less self-respect and independence than she ought to have. At its worst it results in neglected homes and ill-nourished children.
>
> "Even in the most fortunate cases, the system recognizes neither the personality of the woman nor her contribution to society. There can be no real independence, whether for man or woman, without economic independence. Few of us realize how constantly and subtly this half-conscious, but ever present sense of the economic dependence of the woman upon the man corrodes her personality, checks her development, and stunts her mind, even while she is still a girl, with marriage only as yet in prospect.
>
> "National endowment of motherhood promises a measure of economic independence to the mother, and recognizes by a direct payment her services to society. It recognizes the varying needs of the family with an exactness impossible to wages. It recognizes the re-adjustment of the organization of society which the irresistible demand of 'equal pay for equal work' will involve. In its full application, the scheme will make it easy to decrease juvenile employment, and to raise the school age, since the child's wage will no longer be a supplement to the father's. It means, in short, an approach to the humane maxim, 'To each according to his need'; the abolition of hunger for the child; the economic and social emancipation of women; the safeguarding of men from the perils of low-paid competition; and such a leveling up of opportunities as our race has never known in all its history. It makes a ringing call to the ambition and vision of both men and women voters."

Objections to Endowment Answered

Opposing arguments are met by the report. Against the prophesy that lower wages will result the committee cites the benefit to the worker of a system which increases his bargaining power by securing his wife and children from utter starvation during strikes. At the same time the committee recommends as an additional safeguard the establishment of a national minimum wage. As far as women are concerned, the effect on wages would no longer have their one plausible excuse for paying them less than men, namely, that the man's wages must allow for a possible large family; and since mothers would in most cases withdraw from the labor market.

In answer to the argument that such endowment would increase the birth rate, especially among the least desirable citizens, the report points out that the birth rate falls as the income rises, and that "the very hopelessness of a proper discharge of parental obligations breeds a recklessness in incurring them." Endowment would, the report predicts, increase the birth rate in the middle classes and probably not in the "hopeless" class in which there would now be the possibility of decently caring for a moderately large family.

The Concrete Plan

The form of endowment proposed is an allowance to every mother, regardless of income level, equivalent to the difference between the cost of maintaining a family and the cost of living for a man without children. This allowance would represent a certain sum for the mother, a lower sum for the first child and a still lower sum for other children. Such an endowment should, according to the committee, be extended to all children until school leaving age and to mothers during the period when child caring is or should be a full-time occupation.

As a compromise, however, the scheme worked out proposes the following scale of payments:

> MOTHERS—Eight weeks before confinement, and as long as they have one or more children under five years old—12s. 6d. ($3.12) per week.
>
> CHILDREN—Until they reach the age of five (as a first measure only to be extended later until school leaving age) 5s. ($1.25) a week for the first child under five, with 3s. 6d. (87 cents) a week for each child under five beyond the first.
>
> That is to say, the total weekly allowance drawn by a mother with one child under five would be 17s. 6d. ($4.37), a mother with two children under five would be 21s. ($5.25), a mother with three children under five would be 24s. 6d. ($6.12), and so on.

How Much Will Endowment Cost?

The cost of such endowment is estimated for the 2,655,000 mothers with children under five and for their 4,670,000 children, at about £144,000,000 annually, or $720,000,000.

Such figures seem low compared with American standards. They are low. The cost for the United States, with its higher standards and its larger population, would be much greater than that for England. Compared with Great Britain's five million children under five years, we had in 1910 more than ten million, and no statistician here would consider the cost of a baby adequately met—no matter how thrifty his parents—at $1.25 a week. (With milk at 17 to 20 cents a quart!)

The United States can well afford to invest the needed billions in the establishment of motherhood upon a sound basis. At present less than one per cent of the nation's public funds is devoted to work for women and children, education, research and public health. More than five billions is spent yearly in connection with organized killing, that is, for recent and past wars, for the navy and war departments. Women are not wanting who will

(*Continued on page 290*)

Babies Plus Jobs

How to combine a baby and a job is a problem with which many women are struggling. Have you an idea about how it can be solved or why it cannot?

By Margaret Lane

HAVE you ever noticed that boys and girls trudging to and from school almost invariably tuck their books under their left arms? Walk through the shopping district of your town tomorrow and you will find that nine people out of ten are carrying their bundles on the left side, swinging the right arm free. A wise old woman once told me that this almost universal custom is due to the fact that, from time immemorial, the mothers of the race have held their babies in their left arms to leave their right hands free to stir the soup.

The problem of the job-holding mother of today is pretty much what the problem of the old-fashioned brewing and baking and all-the-clothes-making mother used to be, namely: how to achieve sufficient ambidexterity to do her work and give the baby a square deal at the same time.

Of course many new factors have complicated the problem in modern life. The fact that the job is now carried on away from the baby creates obvious difficulties. Moreover, women's work, like men's, has become specialized. It has lost its casual, amateur quality. When a woman sells her labor for a certain number of hours a day she gives her employer the right to demand a mind freed from domestic anxiety. He may well ask, "Can you, with a baby at home, keep your mind on your job?"

Women more than men feel this tug of responsibility for small children. Tradition, the atmosphere in which they have been brought up, and the expectation of the world about them have fastened upon them this sense of duty. There may be no *logical* reason why the father, after the baby is weaned, should not be as responsible for its care as the mother. But did you ever know one who was? It will take a generation of working mothers to shift some of this responsibility on to men.

Meanwhile, how is the mother to secure a degree of freedom from this weight of responsibility? I am convinced that her mental serenity is determined by the extent of her confidence in the care the child is getting while she is away from it. This question of adequate substitute care is the crux of the whole matter.

For several years I have watched the struggles of a group of middle class women in New York who want to have babies and jobs at the same time. Some of them, after a brief tussle with the situation have given up and decided to devote ten years exclusively to their children. They hope to "come back" at the end of ten years. (Can you imagine asking a young lawyer or civil engineer of the masculine gender to abandon his briefs and his bridges for ten years, and then to come smiling back to compete with other men?) Others, with better health or more luck have somehow struggled through. Although conclusions drawn from any one group are not necessarily applicable to people generally, they may prove suggestive.

There are three distinct phases in the problem of the working mother which coincide with distinct periods in the life of the young child. One of these is the period of pregnancy, the second is the first twelve or fifteen months of the child's life and the third is from then on to the time the child enters school.

Women are now working throughout pregnancy in a number of occupations, for instance at teaching and in magazine work, in social service and in various propaganda jobs. Many doctors are advising this to the benefit of both mother and child, provided the woman has good health and is engaged in work not too exacting physically or nervously. Even employers seem to be gradually adopting a more liberal attitude on this question.

After the baby is born and the mother is back at her work comes a period of smooth sailing. The healthy baby's requirements are so simple and so routine that ordinary intelligence is adequate to supply them. If you meet an enthusiastic young feminist who tells you how simple it all is you are safe to conclude that she has only one baby and that it is under fifteen months of age.

The baby now needs some one who can mix a feeding formula, cook cereal, swab out milk bottles, wash diapers and sit patiently for long hours in the park while it sleeps. And in spite of an ever-growing servant problem it is still possible to secure well-trained baby nurses much better suited to this work than any mother of my acquaintance. It is even possible, sometimes, to secure a nurse with the tact to refrain from exhibiting before the mother the baby's obvious and natural preference for its nurse. With such a one the young mother comes happily home at night after her day's work for an hour's play with her new possession while the nurse recounts the achievements of the day—the new tooth, the unmistakable smile of recognition at the wash woman, the growing vocabulary, and such tremendous trifles.

If the nurse sticks and the baby keeps well, life runs along smoothly. Even breast feeding is not an insuperable obstacle; it means living near enough one's work to go home to lunch. The problems of the working mother begin to look very simple after all, and the young mother plans a great career and a large family.

But gradually the placid baby, sleeping and cooing away the hours, changes into an eager, experimenting little human being. He becomes sensitive to tones of voice, gropes for words, demands explanations, draws inferences and accumulates impressions. He can now walk about and climb and get into things. He becomes active and "troublesome." Presently it becomes apparent that the dull nurse who so faithfully boiled milk bottles and trundled the perambulator is not adequate to cope with the situations that now arise. She may be too indulgent, she may yield at each tussle with

the growing will and thus handicap the child in competition with equals later on. More probably she brings down upon him the heavy hand of repression, checking every troublesome or perplexing manifestation with a deadening "Don't."

Homer Lane in London says that when a child of two ecstatically builds a shiny black mountain with the contents of the coal scuttle, scattered over the best rug and his mother or his nurse not only fails to appreciate his achievement but roundly upbraids him for it, she is checking and perhaps permanently crippling his creative ability. If half the Freudians tell us is true, the care of the child between cradle and kindergarten is one of the gravest matters we have to deal with. The mother who realizes this discards the nurse girl and looks about for something better.

Two years ago a group of working mothers in New York who desired much the same things for their children and who had about the same incomes with which to get those things, put their heads together and started a small cooperative nursery school. They wanted their children to have good food, as much outdoor life as possible and companionship with other children. They especially wanted an environment planned primarily for the child and not for housekeeping and adult living. And above all, they wanted the intimate personal care of a woman really interested in small children and thoroughly competent to take care of them.

This nursery ran successfully for a year. It took care of six children from ten months to three years of age, from 8:45 in the morning to 5:15 in the afternoon daily and until 1 o'clock on Saturdays. The plant was comparatively simple. There were two large rooms with bath and kitchenette, an all important sleeping porch equipped for afternoon naps and a small back yard. The rooms were left rather bare to allow plenty of space for play. They contained the necessary small tables and chairs for the noonday lunch and a few low shelves holding a selection of toys of a constructive variety such as blocks and plasticene. The back yard had a large covered sand box, a swing and a slide and in the spring a mother hen and her chicks. The cost per child was a little more than the monthly wage of a trained baby nurse.

The experiment worked. The babies were undoubtedly happy and well cared for. And the mothers were delightfully free from maternal responsibility for eight hours a day.

This particular nursery was given up at the end of a year, but fortunately another was ready to take its place. The second school does not attempt to be either cooperative or wholly self-supporting. It is conducted by the Bureau of Educational Experiments which has added a number of new features, such as conveying the children to and from the nursery in an automobile, weekly physical examination of the children, the services of a trained psychologist, etc. Although strictly speaking the second school is more interested in the educational problem of the child of pre-kindergarten age than in the troubles of the working mother, nevertheless, it is helping to settle these while solving the former.

I am sure that any one who has watched these two experiments must feel that the problem of the working mother is no longer hopeless, at least among fairly well-paid women living in cities.

If you ask me about factory workers, I can only tell you of a group of Bohemian mothers in the middle East Side of New York with whom I became familiar several years ago. These women worked in cigar factories as skilled "bunch makers" from 7 o'clock to 4 each day. I was repeatedly struck by the sunny cleanliness of their homes and the bright-eyed appearance of well-being of their children. Their plan was for one mother in the tenement to stay at home and look after the children of the others who went to the factory. I think a natural gift for cooperation turned the trick. Without labeling it "feminism" or attaching any particular importance to it, these factory women have hit upon a pretty satisfactory solution.

There are several other considerations so essential that I cannot close without at least mentioning them. One is good health, without which no life is free. Another is a knowledge of contraceptives so that the mother may plan the birth of her children just as she plans any other factor of her life. Another is a husband who sympathizes with the adventure. Another is an employer who is willing to be convinced that working mothers are desirable employees. Granted these four desiderata—and luck!—the problem of the working mother comes down to a matter of cooperation and organization.

The Housing Problem

By Marcia Mead

CIVIC consciousness has existed in all of us since before the time when "Johnny" gave his address as "Tough Street—the farther you go the tougher it gets, and we live in the last house." Everybody has had a fairly vivid idea of Johnny's surroundings; but the civic pride that cares whether or not Johnny lives on a clean street and has a garden with real flowers, is still in the throes of birth.

An inevitable building shortage was one of the responsibilities which the warring countries faced when it was necessary to stop all construction except what was required for war purposes. That the housing crisis is made more acute by the fact that people are demanding better and more wholesome surroundings is, after all, a hopeful sign and should challenge our most heroic efforts to meet the situation.

But notwithstanding the imperative need, we must not allow ourselves to get the "emergency habit" and lose our heads. More, many more houses are certainly needed and as quickly as possible, but unless they are good, sanitary, right for health and safety, their erection would be a moral and economical crime.

It is only a question of time when every city, town and countryside will have their local housing boards. The pioneer work is done. Our problem is firmly founded and definite. No longer is it necessary for towns, cities and hamlets to blindly copy alternating sections of the New York City Tenement House Law in a vain attempt to apply it to their suburban acreage. Mr. Lawrence Veiller in his "Model Housing Law" has assembled the results of years of study and varied experience in the drafting of housing

laws, which have been tried, amended and proved. Any community will find in this model law the first draft and backbone of its new housing regulations.

With the cooperation of the best talent in the country the Government produced for its permanent war housing a set of housing standards which will influence housing requirements for many years to come. These standards keep always in mind the ideal of the individual home with abundant fresh air and sunshine and proper personal privacy, in sharp contrast to some of the four-rooms-in-one-disappearing-furniture combinations which are being offered to a patient public as solutions of this vital problem.

The Tenement Is Undesirable

Quoting from the special provision for Type 8 of the Government Standards, we shall appreciate the attitude of the Government in regard to multiple dwellings: "Tenement and apartment houses are considered generally undesirable and will be accepted only in cities where, because of high land values, it is clearly demonstrated that single and two-family houses can not be economically provided, or where there is insistent local demand for this type of multiple housing."

The present stagnation of building is due to two conditions which are interdependent; the unattractive mortgage market and the unstable and high cost of construction. Unless mortgage loans are made as attractive as other securities money will not be available for building purposes; it is necessary to have a definite budget before starting a building operation; otherwise it is not safe to proceed with construction.

To offset the unattractiveness to investors of low rates of interest, the Reconstruction Commission of the state of New York in their final report recommend a plan worthy of serious considerations with which to meet the present emergency, *i. e.*, "Development of a means for using state credits to apply to housing at low rates of interest without loss to the state; to set the standards for the use of such credits and to fix limitations upon the return of money borrowed from the state for housing purposes;" and "the enactment of a Constitutional Amendment permitting extension of state credit on a large scale and at low rates to aid in the construction of moderate priced homes. a. This does not mean that the state itself shall build such homes. b. It does not mean that the state is to own or operate houses. c. It does not mean that the state is to offer subsidy for the construction of homes. d. It does mean that the state shall be enabled to loan money on its credit to limited dividend corporations or to individuals or to organizations to build houses of such standards as to light and air as the state or community may determine to be desirable, the rentals of such houses to be controlled."

First Aid in Housing

This plan, together with stabilized values of material and labor, the latter depending upon the mutual sympathy and cooperation between employers and men, is constructive, and is full of promising possibilities. Of course the labor question involves another subject which we cannot discuss here.

Different forms of tax exemption for new construction are being offered as a temporary relief. The exemption from the income tax, both state and federal, would probably be ineffective in proportion to the difficulties involved. The plan to exempt buildings from the general property tax for a period of years would be an incentive, but should be limited to dwellings to rent for $20.00 or less per room. However, the entire principle of tax exemption is founded upon a false premise and evades the issue, which is excessive costs brought on by inflated prices of materials and labor, lack of competitive production, and the refusal of builders to work on a lump sum contract whereby the owner would have a definite idea of costs.

It has been my experience in meeting with chambers of commerce and bodies of people undertaking the solution of their housing problems that almost without exception women citizens are not present, nor do they have any voice in the determination of the character of the houses to be built.

While the men are thrashing out the financial and labor tangles with which they are more experienced, it seems fitting that the women guard the present housing regulations against any menace and see that they are raised to the highest standard. This they are eminently qualified to do. Yet many are the phases of the problem requiring women's vigilance and to some of these I shall refer in detail. The law should apply to all living quarters including one and two family houses as well as multiple dwellings. Always keep before you the ideal one-family house with plenty —that is at least twenty feet of space—around it, with direct light and sunshine in every room. If land values make it imperative to set the houses closer or join them together care must be observed in their planning so that a balance of light and healthful conditions be maintained. Every room should have direct light, not through a porch.

The bathroom should always be accessible from each room in the house without passing through any other room. Each room should be of the proper size for the purpose to which it is put. All bedrooms should have closets, not built-in wardrobes which attract and harbor vermin. There should be a cleaning closet on each floor and a sunny balcony on the second floor where bedding may be aired and rugs shaken.

The Mechanics of the House

The working surfaces in the kitchen and laundry should be of proper heights and arrangement.

Very little ever is said about the ventilation of the small house, the present status of which is a retrogression from the fireplace, which formed an effective, if not a comfortable ventilating system. Nothing has been overlooked to secure a *warm* house. There is every conceivable form of heating apparatus and the expense of double sash is always advised where it can be afforded. The latter absolutely defeats what little nature could do toward supplying fresh air indoors as well as out. The cost of a system of forced ventilation is prohibitive, but there could be a system of one or more ventilating ducts, which will in the ordinary house be invaluable in keeping the air clean and wholesome. If properly planned the additional cost will be comparatively little.

The women of England are taking up this matter of their house planning and it is going to be better. Follow the work of the English Women's Labor League.

WHAT NEXT?

Women face the future with immense power in their hands. How will they use it? The *Suffragist* has asked women in various fields of activity to answer the question, What shall women do next? What is Your Answer?

From Crystal Eastman

Why Change Our Tactics?

Marie Tudor Garland, in describing the recent Woman Suffrage Congress at Geneva, says:

"Although attempts were made to break away into a separate feminist movement, dealing with women's rights as apart from men's, Mrs. Catt was able, through her personality, to hold the group to its course—the full democratization of the women of the world, not primarily as women but as joint members of the human family."

In this comment and in the program of the Congress there is revealed a sort of high-minded, altruistic confusion more inimical to the progress of feminism than the edicts of the Catholic Church. The hard practical truth is that there must be a "separate feminist movement dealing with women's rights as apart from men's" because women's rights are at an altogether different stage of development from men's. Women must catch up and they must do it through their own efforts. Few men will even understand the feminist movement, let alone work for it. But women from all classes will understand it, women of opposite economic interests, women with widely divergent views of human progress will understand it and work together for it. Men will help in the end of course. Here and there a man with a taste for adventure and change will applaud us even in the early stages. But the organization of the campaign for woman's freedom, the drudgery of preparation, the burden and heat of the battle, must be borne by the women who want to be free. That is the law of progress. Indeed, a rebel spirit must be born in women, a passionate interest in themselves, which would be utterly dissipated in any attempt to enlist men in the active service of their cause.

"But," Mrs. Garland and these eminent suffrage leaders might well reply, "we are not proposing to open our membership to men. What we do insist upon is the enlarging of the woman's program so as to include child welfare, educational and moral reforms, international peace, etc., etc."

Here is the very center of the confusion. If the program is to be drawn on large humanitarian lines, including all the more popular human betterment proposals, why is it a woman's program? Have women a corner on progress? Must they jealously guard their right to improve the world? Surely this is man's work as well as woman's. The object of feminism is not to separate the activities of men and women but to unite them. If we cling to these women's reform organizations we but perpetuate the old separation, "charity and church work for women, politics for men." If feminism means opening the doors of the whole wide world for women, it means no less enlisting the efforts of men in our struggle to clean up the world and make it a decent place to live in. Certainly a Woman's International which includes peace, education and child welfare among its objects cannot be said to be consciously feminist in its outlook. And that is not saying that feminists are without human instincts,—women are incurably humanitarian as every unregenerate male can testify. It simply means that a genuine feminist has thought the problem through; she knows that woman's battle for her own freedom must be kept clear of entangling alliances.

There is another very practical reason why the feminist program must not become part of or in any way tied up with a general reform program. A vast number of women have no faith in "reform," no confidence in the vote as a means of abolishing poverty, establishing industrial justice, getting rid of war, or accomplishing any fundamental economic change. It will be the tendency of these women, even though they may be good feminists, to look scornfully upon any effort to win freedom for women by political action. If the feminist program is confused by including in it all sorts of reforms which the direct-actionist knows cannot be brought about by voting, we shall surely lose her support, she will become negligible as a force for feminism. But if the feminist objective is kept clear and definite and single in the framing of our program, even the most convinced industrial communist like myself can honestly support political action to achieve it.

All sorts of changes can be accomplished by voting which are not destructive of the private profit system, which are not inherently inimical to capitalism. Prohibition, daylight saving, woman suffrage itself, are excellent examples. I believe the feminist program belongs in this group. For when we speak of "freedom for women" we do not mean that ultimate freedom for the human race which cannot be dreamed of until the capitalist system is destroyed. We mean such freedom of choice in occupation and such individual economic independence as it is possible for a human being to achieve in the present order. The winning of this measure of freedom for women will not destroy privilege, it will not undermine profits. Vital as this struggle is to the status of women it will not even shake the foundations of this monstrous structure which we call modern capitalism. Therefore feminism will to a large extent cut across class lines, women of all classes who are concerned for their freedom will hang together to achieve it and the vote will be one of their chief weapons.

To break down barriers and discriminations against women in all grades of government service, to repeal the foolish laws which prevent a mother from limiting the size of her family, to establish the principle of motherhood endowment without which economic independence is impossible—for this part of our program we must conduct a political campaign. But this is by no means the whole program. The

discrimination against women in trades union rules, in business customs, in professional schools, is after all much deeper rooted than in government service. Women workers by hand and brain must organize and break down these barriers by some form of direct action. There is no other way.

And finally feminism calls for nothing less than a revolution in education. Girls as well as boys must be trained for self-support, not as a matter of bitter and regrettable necessity, but as a natural fulfillment of their powers. On the other hand, boys as well as girls must be trained for home-making. Even at the risk of temporarily acting out the old comic cartoon of the man with an apron round his waist about to "wash up," while his wife in hat and coat goes off to business,—we must somehow even up this business of home-making. I wish that for one generation the girls could help father on the farm and the boys help mother in the kitchen. But perhaps that is going a bit too far. The point I wish to make here is that we cannot go very far toward woman's freedom without establishing the feminist ideal in education. And here again the vote will be of little value.

Clearly, then, the vote is not our only weapon, or even our chief weapon. Industrial organization and education can accomplish as much, probably more than political action. This, it seems to me, is the final answer to the question, Shall we have a Woman's Party? A woman's political party, running women candidates for office on purely feminist issues, is unthinkable. But even if it were possible, what a mistake in tactics it would be for a movement which is at most but one-third political!

In so far as the feminist movement is a political movement, what better tactics could possibly be devised than the unique and supremely successful tactics of our present organization? The Woman's Party has demonstrated that the way to make the clumsy, old, outworn machinery of political democracy work for you is to stay outside of it; to be a sort of outlaw political group, strongly organized and very much "on to the game"; wasting no time or emphasis on electing candidates to office, but bringing pressure to bear when and where it will count most.

If women without the vote could get a constitutional amendment in seven years by these tactics, surely with the added power of the vote, *if they do not change their tactics,* they can write a few feminist laws on the statute books.

From Zoe Beckley

A Clean New Party for Peace

Concentrate upon a means for ending war. I believe that neither of the major political parties now existing can accomplish this. If women could be prevailed upon to throw their enormous concerted weight with those whose platform is built upon the rights *of the workers,* and not of the few who live upon the profits earned by the workers, they would not only gain for the world peace, but a whole new governmental system to replace the outworn one under which the weary world now suffers.

To my mind (until I learn of something better!) the hope of the world lies in women and in the *principles* of socialism.

I believe that in the main women by nature are more peace-loving than men. More practical and more direct. More economical and more conscientious. More persistent and enduring.

I would ask women to open their minds to truth so as to apply these gifts and powers rightly. To read progressive newspapers and periodicals (there are not many) and learn for themselves what is offered for their political choosing.

I would ask them to read the writings of such men as John Haynes Holmes, Henri Barbusse, Upton Sinclair. To scan with broadmindedness and pliancy of view the platform of the British Labor Party, for instance.

I would beg them to remember that most of the daily journals and magazines we commonly see are owned by various big-moneyed interests who utilize their columns as propaganda for their own ends. They do not print the truth.

And if, after women have given their tolerant consideration to the principles of forward-looking thinkers who have lost faith in the old parties, they still cannot turn to any platform that now exists, I think they would do well to form a party of their own. A clean, new party with peace for its object.

Women, **unite and Push for Peace!**

From Mary White Ovington

Free Black As Well As White Women.

During the many years that the women of the United States have struggled for the ballot I have often appealed to suffrage workers and their leaders for help in battling against the disfranchisement of the negro. The answer I have received has been invariably the same, "We must have a single issue; we cannot intrude the negro question until the battle is over. When the fight is won, then will be the time to ask us to take up the cause of the negro women."

Well, the battle is over. The women of the country have received the vote. They will be able in November to go to the polls—that is, the white women will. They have won democracy for themselves. Now is the time to ask them if they have sympathy for other Americans who are disfranchised and whether they are willing to aid the colored women of this country living in the Southern States to exercise the right of franchise. That the colored people alone cannot win this right is illustrated by a story appearing in the New York *Times* of October 6 which runs as follows:

> "B. J. Jones, the Negro Chairman of the Columbia County Republican Club of Lake City, Fla., who has been active in urging Negro women to vote, was taken out of his bed on Tuesday night by unknown parties and with a noose about his neck was bundled into an automobile in his night clothes.
>
> "He was carried several miles and after being allowed to think he would be lynched, was allowed to escape. After wandering about, he found a telephone and called up the Sheriff of Columbia County,

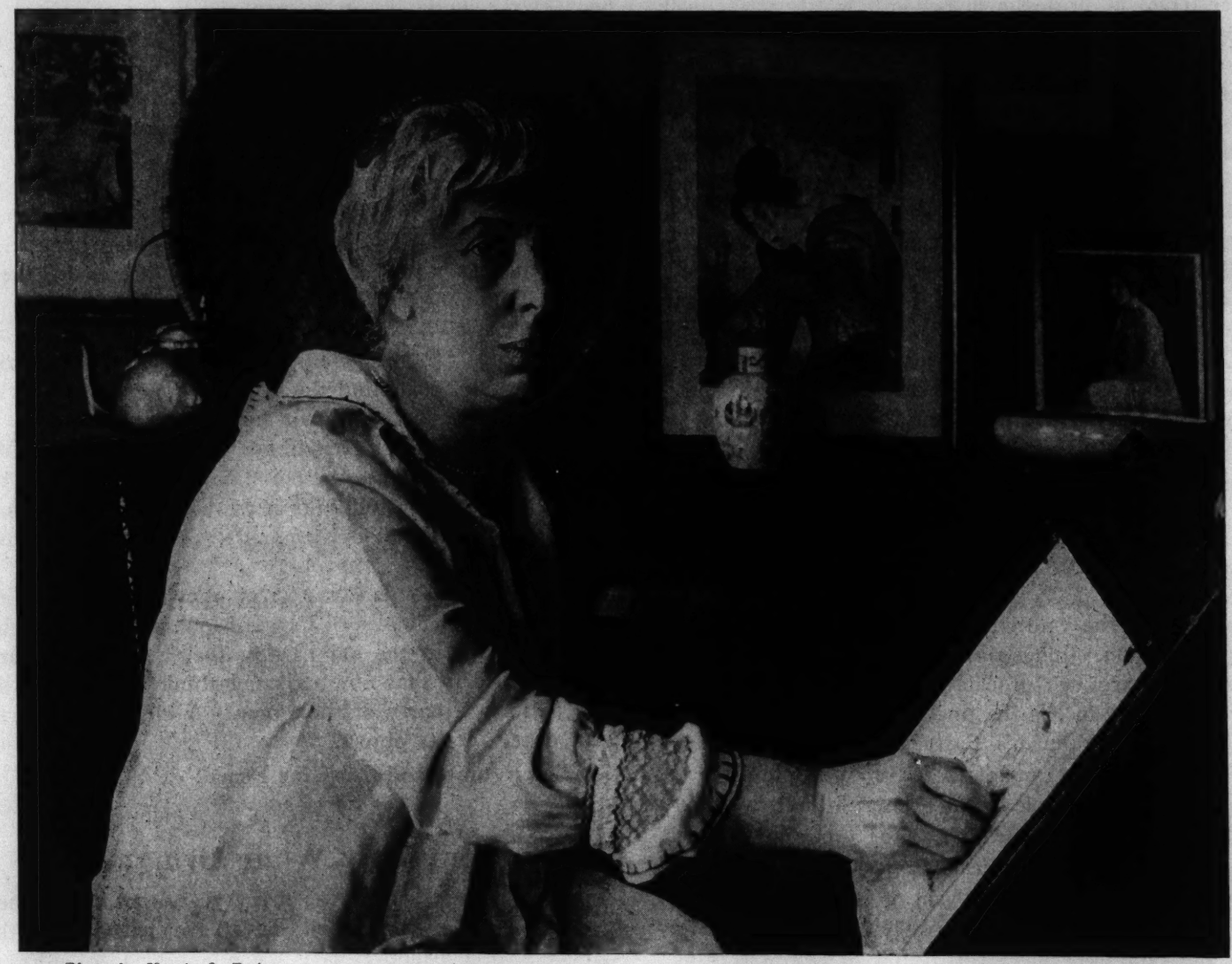

Photo by Harris & Ewing.

A feature of the Woman's Party Convention in February will be a history of the Woman's Party campaign told in the cartoons of Mrs. Nina E. Allender. Mrs. Allender is the only woman cartoonist who has devoted her work entirely to politics and the only cartoonist, it is safe to say, who has drawn a cartoon on the same subject every week for four years

to obtain an escort so that he might return home in safety.

"Besides urging Negro women to vote, Jones was reported to have been organizing churches, lodges and night schools and carrying on a propaganda to have negro women expelled if they failed to exercise the franchise. He also organized meetings to instruct Negro women how to vote.

"The situation caused by the incident is thought to be serious. The feeling created by the extension of the franchise to Negro women is tense in other parts of the state, and state troops will probably be called to Baker County to guard the election there in November."

What is the attitude of the women of the suffrage movement toward this near-lynching of a man who was endeavoring to instruct the colored woman voter? Are there not many who, having won the ballot, wish to see it used not by the white women of the state only, but by all? Surely, as women we cannot remain indifferent to the enforcement of the amendment that we have at length succeeded in incorporating into the Constitution. We must not rest until we have freed black as well as white of our sex. Will not those who wish to see this come to pass write me to that effect?

There are only a few of us in this Negro cause and we need the knowledge that you have gained in your long campaigns. We need your enthusiasm for the cause of woman. We need your splendid ability that at length has won this victory against the great odds of antagonism and, still worse, of indifference.

Will you not show us how to make the Nineteenth Amendment the Democratic reality that it purports to be?

From Eliza H. Lord

I want to urge a continuance of the Woman's Party for the work that their experience has fitted them to do for the further advancement of women. Without their leadership there will be much falling away from ideals necessary to purge politics from the gross materialism that has wrought such evil. I have realized my mistake in opposing the militancy that seemed then, to my old time training, an error.

Will Women be Reactionary?

By Walter W. Liggett

WILL women have a radical or reactionary influence in politics? Will the granting, or, more strictly speaking, the seizure of suffrage have a conservative or unsettling result? Without very much reflection I venture the assertion that ultimately the women's vote will be a progressive influence.

Sophistication will not come over-night as the result of suffrage. It will be a slow and painful process. The hopes and faith of women will be abused and traded upon; they will be gulled by the flattery of politicians; they will discover platforms are made merely to run upon, and that the average office-seeker's promise is lighter than air. But women will learn—and they have long memories. Eventually, I am hopeful that they will get down to verities; see things as they are, and assert their inherent sense of order by a little social house-cleaning on a national scale—and perhaps international scale.

For four years I conducted a newspaper and was extremely active in politics in a suffrage state. During that period I came in close contact with women voters, both as individuals and a sex, and the result of my observations was to convince me that women are inclined to be less partisan and more constructive than men. I happened to be involved in a bitter municipal fight in which decent government, public economy and a sweeping policy of municipal ownership were the issues. All through this fight the women were our best supporters—and I want to lay at rest the belief that "women will vote just as their husbands tell them to."

I happened to be standing near the polling place during one of the most hotly contested campaigns. A group of political adversaries were standing near, yet where they did not see me. In that group was a man known as the boss of that county. As I was standing there his wife passed to the polling place.

The "boss" burst into lurid profanity. "There goes my wife," he grumbled to his friends, "to vote for M——— (a man leading the reform fight), and I can't stop her." He was assured by several others in the group that the same thing was happening with their wives.

The election returns of that town on that day will show that the Democratic party cast more votes than all the other parties combined, and this was explained by the fact that at least three-fourths of the women entered the Democratic primaries to vote for a certain candidate.

In the end, the weight of woman's influence will be thrown toward the radical cause. For, contrary to general belief, women are radical, not conservative, by nature. They are radical because they are direct; because they grasp the truth that one gets further along in life by beating into the head wind of principle rather than tacking with each passing gust of expediency; because they rightly see that human health and happiness are the most important things in the world. Ultimately they will have a regenerating and radical influence—and this explains the almost subconscious reasoning which has made reactionaries oppose their enfranchisement and caused radicals to welcome them as recruits in the great crusade for human advancement.

A Plea to Women for Peace

MRS. PETHICK-LAWRENCE, well known as a leader in the militant suffrage movement in England, is now touring this country in the interests of world peace. She addressed a large meeting at the Woman's Party headquarters, in Washington, October 26, at which she eloquently pleaded for organization of the women of the world to end bloodshed. Her full address will be printed in the November number of the SUFFRAGIST.

Speaking of the world-wide sentiment among women for disarmament and peace, Mrs. Lawrence said:

"I was an English delegate at the International Women's Congress that met in Zurich in the summer of 1919. The most moving speech I ever heard in my life was given by a French woman who came direct from the devastated districts of France. Holding out both hands to a German delegate on the platform and drawing her close, she appealed to the women in the audience to recognize and admit that women must have no enemy excepting war. Instantly, all the delegates who were assembled from the twenty-two nations united in the League, rose to their feet and solemnly swore a vow never again to support any war by direct or indirect help. Thus a great international strike of women against war was unanimously agreed upon.

"This strike has to be planned far ahead in every country so that in time of danger women can present a united front which shall put to shame all those who seek to bring about war. Women speakers are being interchanged between the countries for this crusade, and are urging immediate and universal disarmament as the only safeguard against war.

"I have been speaking, at the invitation of the Austrian people, in the town halls of the cities in Austria. In Austria as the result of the women's campaign the educational curriculum for children has been entirely revised. All school books engendering national pride or prejudice have been scrapped. The Austrian people have now sold all the armament left them by the Allies to their former enemies, the Czecho-Slovaks.

"No league that is based on armament can secure world peace. All leagues hitherto organized by governments are leagues of war. Fear is one of the fundamental, psychological causes of war. Eliminate fear, and the pressure of public opinion from within a nation will prevent modern governments from making war. The council of action of the British labor party has lately stopped the British government from presenting a war ultimatum to Russia.

"The women have suddenly emerged not as the enfranchised citizens of this nation only, but as an enfranchised sex inheriting citizenship of all the world. When the workers agree together internationally in the refusal to make munitions of war and when the women agree in the refusal to lend any moral or material support to the governments who make war or prepare for war then we shall have a real League of Nations."

Feminism in Foreign Countries

The Scandinavian Woman Movement

By Katharine Anthony

This is the second of a series of four articles by Miss Anthony on European feminism. The first described the woman movement in England; the last two will deal with middle Europe and France.

THE story goes that when the thirteenth member from Copenhagen rises in the Danish parliament, the assembled legislators know at once what she is going to ask. "What do women get?" is what she usually says to each new bill, and, while the iteration is extremely boring to the conservative minority, the trend of opinion at present in all the Scandinavian countries is in favor of giving women quite a good deal. They get a great many things which all of us are getting nowadays, but in the special field of marriage and family laws they have made an outstanding record.

From the beginning the theme of "The Doll's House" has been the dominant theme of Scandinavian feminism. It was not a literary accident that Ibsen's Nora represented the wife and mother in rebellion against her traditional status. Ibsen had learned about the faults of the marriage system from a better feminist, though a lesser artist, than himself; he had received the idea of Nora straight from the personality and writings of Camilla Collett, who founded the woman movement of his country. Camilla Collett, Fredrika Bremer, Ellen Key, and other leading spirits of the Northern woman movement have been, on the whole, less interested in repudiating the idea that woman's place is in the home than in striving to improve the status of woman within a sphere which is admittedly her own. The marriage laws once favored the man so much more than the woman that it seemed a perversion of the truth to describe the home as "woman's sphere." Today, thanks to dramatic and far-reaching changes in the legislation of these northern countries, woman's place in the home has been made almost equal to that of man. True equality in marriage—what women really wish to get—is immensely more possible than it was ten years ago.

For Nora, who had her histrionic as well as her feminist obligations, there was nothing to do but to slam the door on the intolerable conditions of a doll's house which had masqueraded as a woman's home. But for the million Noras in private life, this was naturally not to be the solution. The method actually employed was that which is popularly known in this country as "boring from within." Women like marriage and children far too well to give them up easily—it is a mark of the foolish to believe the contrary. If marriage does not suit, it will have to adjust; no one need fear but that in some form it will survive. In Scandinavia the idea seems to be pretty generally accepted that the institution of marriage is in process of evolution—that it is not an infallible and absolute arrangement of society. Even in the face of the remarkable amendments recently adopted in Sweden, there is no tendency to regard the present state of things as a permanent ideal.

"From the beginning the theme of "The Doll's House" has been the dominant theme of Scandinavian feminism. It was not a literary accident that Ibsen's Nora represented the wife and mother in rebellion against her traditional status. Leading spirits of the Northern woman movement have been, on the whole, less interested in repudiating the idea that woman's place is in the home than in striving to improve the status of woman within a sphere which is admittedly her own. The marriage laws once favored the man so much more than the woman that it seemed a perversion of the truth to describe the home as 'woman's sphere.' Today, thanks to dramatic and far-reaching changes in the legislation of these northern countries, woman's place in the home has been almost equal to that of man.

"Equal pay, votes and proportional representation—all these cannot directly relieve the daily grind of the woman in the home. The Scandinavian women have a peculiar appreciation of this ultimate fact. While they demand that a new morality shall be introduced into the marriage law, they do not forget that they also need electricity in the kitchen. Their feminism has a body as well as a soul, reflecting, as it does, the admirable practical traits of a realistic race."

If Nora lived in Norway today, she would find that, as a wife and mother, she occupied a far more self-respecting position than in her own time. She would also learn that she owed this largely to a man of genius, a friend of women and of labor, whom some propitious fate led to be the Minister of Justice in Norway. "Minister of *In*justice," was the way Johan Castberg apparently sized up his job, for he immediately set to work to change many things and, first of all, to change the conditions of the Noras of Norway. With the aid of Fru Katti Möller, a brilliant and able woman who is his sister-in-law, he has accomplished wonders for women.

In each of the Scandinavian countries, there is a unique commission known as a Family Law Commission whose duty it is to revise the domestic relations laws of the three states into a greater conformity with modern ideas of ethics and into more uniformity with each other. There are three members of each commission, one of whom is a woman,

and the three commissions sit together as well as separately. The effort to achieve uniformity does not mean that any one of the countries thus cooperating in the legislative revision may not go as far as it likes in its own ideas of justice and the others may follow at their own pace. From time to time within the last ten years, the commission has recommended changes which, from the point of view of some of our American state legislation, would probably be classed as a menace to home and family life. If some perfectly respectable people from Sweden should happen to immigrate to South Carolina, they would find themselves classed as bigamists and adulterers by the laws of their new home, and if some Norwegian children came along they might find that, whereas they had been legitimate and well-protected in their old home, they were now illegitimate and disinherited as the result of their Americanization. One needs only to read the dates of the domestic relations laws in Scandinavia to realize how few antiquated concepts of marriage and family life remain unchanged on the statute books. They are abolishing the patriarchate on the installment plan and building up a modern democratic institution to take its place.

The new Swedish marriage law, adopted in April, 1920, tries to equalize the rights and duties of both parents. Not only the husband but the wife also must help support the family. They must both contribute to the household expenses. The wife who gives all her time to the home is regarded by the law as making a contribution equal to that of the husband who pays the expenses. She is regarded by the state as gainfully employed, not as a dependent on her husband. If she wishes to be divorced and her husband also wishes to be divorced—that is, if there is complete collusion between them—they may dissolve their marriage by applying for a year of legal separation, which is then confirmed as a final divorce if they so wish. It costs them only the government fees and they do not need to tell their reasons to anyone provided their reasons are mutually convincing. If they are not agreed in wishing a divorce, or if they wish it at once and not after a year of waiting in silence, they must tell their reasons to the court. These are the same for either party—drunkenness, infidelity, or knowingly exposing the married partner to contagion from venereal disease constituting the grounds which may be pleaded. When a divorce is granted, the common property is equally divided and if either is in need and the other has means, the one with means may be required to contribute to the support of the other. That is to say, the wife may be required to pay alimony to the husband if the circumstances seem to require it. "Husband and wife owe each other fidelity and help," says the new dispensation, and even though fidelity may have broken down between them, help may still be a mutual obligation.

The new marriage law now under way in Denmark promises to go somewhat further in some respects than the Swedish law just passed. Indeed, among all the revolutionary events which are today taking place in Europe, these marriage laws of the Protestant North are among the most revolutionary. Incidentally, the Danish women have an advantage over the Swedish women in the fact that Fru Elna Munch, who has been returned three times over to the Danish House of Commons, is a skilled and experienced parliamentarian and heads the special commission which has the bill in charge.

The first and greatest impetus was given to all this radical series of family legislation by the Norwegian law of five years ago concerning illegitimate children, or rather, as the official title ran, concerning the "children of parents who have not married each other." The terms of this law are now widely known in this country and have directly influenced the legislation of several states. The essential points of the law are that every child is entitled to know who his father is, to take his father's name if he wishes, to be supported by his father, and to inherit from his father exactly as if he were a legitimate child. All these claims are duplicated with regard to the mother.

There was the usual sort of protest against this bill. Norway would fall as Rome had fallen if licentiousness was thus encouraged by public law; all children would become illegitimate and the legitimate child would vanish from society. But Castberg and his sister-in-law and the liberals and the radicals and the feminists braved the dire prophecies of immorality and pushed the bill through. This was in the second year of the war, when morals and conventions were rather generally upset anyway, yet the Castberg law failed to bring on the wave of loose living which had been guaranteed by its opponents. Nothing extraordinary has happened as a consequence, except that helpless children found effective protection, unmarried mothers were befriended and aided instead of being harassed by society and consigned to poverty, and men were rescued from the soul-killing falsifications and lies which society had formerly expected of them.

The really important and far-reaching effect was of course to be looked for in the domain of legal marriage, not in the increase of illicit unions. This consequence is already at hand in the new marriage legislation which, as the Scandinavians may truly boast, is the most progressive of the whole world.

Another issue which has aroused keen interest in these Lutheran countries is the question, whether women may become clergymen. In Denmark as in England, there are women who wish to preach in the established Church and who have managed, by dint of determination and persistence, to gain a good deal of ground which the Church formerly denied them. The Danish authorities are peculiarly embarrassed by the fact that the women want to preach and the men apparently do not. While there is a dearth of properly qualified masculine candidates, there are a number of women who have "made the doctor of theology" and who want pulpits.

But pulpits and equal pay, votes and proportional representation—all these can not directly relieve the daily grind of the woman in the home. The Scandinavian women have a peculiar appreciation of this ultimate fact. While they demand that a new morality shall be introduced into the marriage law, they do not forget that they also need electricity in the kitchen. Their feminism has a body as well as a soul, reflecting, as it does, the admirable practical traits of a realistic race.

Japanese Women and the New Japan

By Miyo Kohashi

THOSE who saw Japan twenty years ago would hardly realize that in the larger cities there are now street cars, automobiles and auto-cycles, and in Tokyo, even omnibuses and elevated railways.

Those who were acquainted with the Japan of ten years ago will find it hard to recognize the streets, because the quaint old streets which used to charm the eyes of Westerners with buildings and things peculiar to Oriental countries are now lined with modern steel structures where business transactions are carried on with up-to-date methods. They will be surprised to see great numbers of Japanese girls clicking typewriters as cleverly as any American girls.

Five years ago it was an unheard-of thing to see aeroplanes outside the regular military drilling grounds, but now they are such a familiar sight that even children at play do not stop to look at them as they used to. They have recently been put into mail service between Osaka and Tokyo and they cover the distance of 356 miles in six hours and fifty minutes.

The man who left Japan three years ago would find it an impossibility to live within his income of that time. If I remember correctly the report of the Home Department stated that the cost of living has advanced about 50 per cent during 1914-1919. Still we can not correctly judge the real living cost by the statistics of wide average; the necessaries of Japanese every-day life, such as cotton goods, common silk, and rice cost three times as much as they used to cost a few years ago.

The writer was told the other day that the American people are suffering from undue rise in house rents; but it is very probable that they do not suffer any more than the Japanese people have during the last two or three years when an increase of 20 per cent was made every three months.

Despite the high cost of living, salaries of lower government officials have increased only 50 per cent, and even the wages of workingmen, which had comparatively the largest increase, were not doubled.

Thus the conditions became so serious that at the end of 1918 the wives of the fishermen in Okayama Prefecture had decided to relieve the situation by drastic measures, and from this small beginning the well-known rice-riot of 1918 was brought about and spread like wild fire through all parts of the country.

Struck with amazement, the Government bestirred itself and bought a large supply of foreign rice which was sold at half price to the lower classes. Despite this effort, the price of rice continued to rise and the people suffered greatly. The riot, however, made people realize the serious economic condition of the country, and in time this present unstable condition will be adjusted.

One of the most significant results produced through this awful economic crisis is the increasing activity and social awakening of women. The problems of household economics, which have confronted them straight in their faces, have made them realize that they must rise to mitigate the suffering. Not only women themselves, but some of the leading men were made to see that it is a pressing need of the age to educate women and broaden their point of view that they may better fulfill their noble duty for home and society.

This new attitude of men toward women can be seen in the fact that the Government has adopted and put into practice some of the suggestions offered by women to solve the problems of the high cost of living. It indicates the dawn of a new era for women.

Women themselves have by no means been insensible to the changed state of affairs, and are rapidly adapting themselves to their new position. Many are studying the problems of economics, social service, and other important questions of the day. Some of them have banded themselves to bring about social reform, and are encouraging each other to carry out their thought into actual practice.

One of the largest of the kind is the organization of the Alumnæ of Girls' High Schools. Over 400 of these schools, scattered throughout the Empire, send out every year nearly 20,000 graduates. Some of these schools have been in existence for more than thirty years and it is not difficult to see what a powerful army of young women they may form. The work of this association is divided into four departments: (1) Mind Culture, (2) The Food Problem, (3) Dress Reform, (4) Social Intercourse.

Without doubt it is a natural tendency of the age that the greatest attention be paid to the question of food and dress reform. Lectures are given and classes are formed all over the country where women are taught how to prepare food most economically so that all the nutritious properties of the material used can be made the most of.

Often enough we are told that our costume is so beautiful and artistic that it will be a great pity to introduce the American costume. Those who wear them, however, can tell how flowing sleeves and open skirts are unsuitable for active work. At the same time I do not advocate the idea of adopting the extreme bare-backed and bare-chested evening dresses. I was shocked at this appalling sight at theatres: it reminds one of public baths in Eastern countries.

Let me mention here our pioneer woman who has done wonders for women in our country. She is often called "Miss Frances Willard of Japan." Thirty years ago Madam Yajima started an organization for social and reform work amid strong opposition. Even her sister, who was most devoted to her, pleaded with her to abandon such an unheard-of scheme; but this educator—for she was already the principal of one of the largest colleges for young women, where she had kept her position for 36 years—saw her vision too clearly and stood firm to her principle. As a first step in her work, she drafted a petition to the Government demanding the equal standard of morality for both sexes, which has been sent into parliament year by year for the last 33 years with seemingly no effect, yet it has certainly worked wonders in creating public sentiment on the subject. It is due to her unceasing efforts that many of the regulations

and laws in regard to women and children were either reformed or newly introduced; such as permission for women to visit the Diet, no smoking for minors, etc. The national movement for prohibition and abolition of the white slave traffic and licensed prostitution are also her schemes.

The need of the age has brought about a marvelous change among educated women, and recently it is stated that so-called "new women" (radical in the extreme) have formed an association for social and political agitation. They are demanding the right to attend political gatherings and to have a new law passed which will submit men to a blood test before marriage.

Heretofore Japanese women have kept quiet and patient, but they now see that the time is ripe for them to step in to help build up a new society. Even working women are giving striking evidences of their growing consciousness of their responsibility as well as their right. The following incident will give you some idea of the extent of this awakening.

In 1919, the delegates for the International Labor Conference were appointed, and the Working Woman's Union held a meeting at one of the public schools in Tokyo to which they invited a lady who had been chosen as a Government adviser to the I. L. C. Twelve factory women spoke from the platform, and they astonished the hearers by their enthusiasm and eloquence. One of the most powerful of these was a woman who appeared on the platform with a baby on her back. She had had twelve years' experience as a factory hand. With great force and pathos she pictured the agony of unending night toil and the misery of being looked down upon as an inferior being. She closed her moving appeal with these words: "I hope our delegates will do their very best to improve our condition and get us what we most desire: eight-hour work, no night work, and no child labor."

Does not this fact show us how the pile is ready for a hand to light a match? If suffrage comes to Japanese women it will very likely be this class who will most appreciate its value and enjoy its privileges to their full extent.

For the last fifty years Japanese men have been busy in building up their country's outside structure; now it is up to the enfranchised women to build up the spirit of New Japan.

Legal Position of Women In Other Countries

By Ida Clyde Clarke

ONE of the most important reports heard at the meeting of the International Council of Women which met in Christiania on September 17th and 18th was that of the committee on the legal position of woman in various countries.

By the new laws of Norway every woman of that country has the right to claim help from the municipal authorities for the last six weeks before her child is ex-expected.

In Finland a new trade law gives the married woman the right to manage a business "even without the consent of her husband." Alterations of the marriage laws are under consideration. A state commission has unanimously decided that the husband's guardianship of the wife is to be abolished; that husband and wife have equal rights in the management of the home and children.

The British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, 1914, made it possible for the wife of a British subject to declare her intention of remaining British should her husband change his nationality.

In Tasmania the law provides that a woman may secure a divorce if her husband has been mad for seven, while a man may secure a divorce if his wife has been mad for three years. Women are protesting against the discrimination.

Great progress in the granting of the franchise to women was reported. It is estimated that 100,000,000 women can vote in the world today. The record of elections of women to national, state and municipal bodies brings many surprises, and Germany is given the palm. In that country there were 39 members in the last National Assembly, 155 in parliaments of the newly federated states and 4,000 on local municipal boards.

Crimea was the first Mohammedan country to give votes to women. This action was taken in December, 1917. Eighty-three per cent voted and five women were elected, one of whom is vice-president of the Diet.

It is fairly certain that a municipal suffrage bill will be passed by the National Assembly of Greece this year. A bill equalizing many civil laws for men and women has already been passed upon favorably before the National Parliament, and Greek women who started their first suffrage organization last January are confident that political and civil equality will soon be attained.

The President of the Palestine Jewish Women's Equal Rights Association, Jaffa, Palestine, wrote: "We here have just voted for a constituent assembly—I mean men and women have voted—and about ten women have been elected. It certainly was an historic moment. A new light was kindled in the east and the women of my ancient race were the torch bearers. We want to open classes in citizenship for women. Many women, and many men too, are entirely unfamiliar with the fundamental principles on which a democratic government is grounded. The Jewish women of Palestine have the ballot but are far from having equal rights. The Arab women have no ballot and are a great deal farther from having equal rights; in fact the vast majority of the Moslem-Arab women feel and are treated as slaves."

Interesting news was brought from the new governments. In Lettonia men and women both got votes on equal terms in 1918, five women have been elected to Parliament, and many to city councils.

In Lithuania equality of votes was won in 1920 and five women have been elected to Parliament. In Esthonia women can vote on equal terms with men and there are five members of Parliament. In Czecho-Slovakia women have votes on equal terms as men. There are thirteen women members in the lower House and three in the second chamber. Women vote in Poland

on equal terms with men and in the new Commune of Fiume suffrage has been granted to women.

Dr. Alice Solomon, president of the National Council of Women of Germany, was in Christiania for several weeks preceding the meeting, but left for Berlin on the day the conference opened. Lady Aberdeen read a very bautiful letter from Dr. Solomon in which she said that in spirit she was with the delegates in their deliberations, but that the National Council of Women of Germany had decided not to participate in the International Council of Women until Germany is invited to join the League of Nations.

Germany Protects Her Children.

NEW GERMANY recognizes that the stability of the state depends upon the welfare of the child. This is indicated by reforms in the Constitution and in bills to come up before the Republican Reichstag which are described by Dr. Alice Solomon, director of the Women's School in Berlin, in the New York *Times* of October 17.

One of the first measures the new Reichstag will have to consider, according to Dr. Solomon, is a bill providing for the establishment of a national children's bureau with subsidiary state and provincial branches. This is known as the Juvenile Welfare Bill.

The system provided for under the bill would create a network of bureaus throughout Germany with local centers in every town and rural district.

A Ministry of Motherhood in Australia

THE Labour Government of New South Wales is making provision for a Ministry of Motherhood, whose duty it shall be to arrange scientific instruction for girls, to prepare them for the duties and responsibilities of motherhood. Maternity hospitals are to be established all over the country, and pre-natal and after-care of mothers will be especially arranged for, as well as help and protection for the unmarried mother. Widows and deserted wives with children are to be provided with adequate allowances, all health activities are to be nationalized, and the State is to provide maintenance for all public hospitals, while the pay and working conditions of nurses are to be improved. While we discuss all these vital matters ad nauseum, Australia acts. We call ourselves the mother country, but we seem to be taking the position of an old-fashioned grandmother this time.—*From the Woman's Leader (London, England)*.

Southern Women Vote

By H. E. C. Bryant

THE contention that Southern women were not interested in the ballot, and the claim that they would not vote if the Federal amendment were adopted are being answered every day by the registration of thousands of women. Women of the South are going to vote, and among those who have registered are many negresses. In Richmond, Va., the capital of the Confederacy, more than a thousand colored women will vote. In other states there has been no color line drawn, though in a majority of the states the whites have outnumbered the colored women.

It is in the power of the registration officers in most cities to ask any questions that occur to them concerning the constitution. Very few abuse this privilege but the negroes, realizing the possible obstacles to voting, and in some cases wishing to avoid payment of the poll tax, refrain in large numbers from presenting themselves at the polling places.

Virginia offered the unique example of a number of registrars who resigned rather than register any women. That was the last kick of the anti-suffragist of the old school in the South.

Nevertheless in this state more than 75 per cent of the white women are expected to vote. In Richmond about 10,000 white and 1,000 colored women registered. That proportion is kept up throughout the state. A poll tax of $1.50, for the year 1921, was required before registration in Virginia. The women gladly paid it, for two-thirds of it goes to the schools.

In North Carolina communities more than 90 per cent of the white women, Republicans and Democrats, registered. In some instances the registration records show 100 per cent.

In South Carolina Democratic leaders made an effort to register at least 90 per cent of their women, and that was done in most places. In various sections of the state many educated negro women enrolled for the election.

In Georgia, where the state laws require that prospective voters register six months before the election, the women will not take part in the November election. The Attorney General held that women could register at a later date and vote, but he has been overruled. Recent reports from the state indicate that the Republicans are registering large numbers of colored women.

The same situation prevails in Mississippi, where four months elapse between the date of registration and election day.

In Florida, Louisiana and Arkansas all hands are busy registering women. In Alabama more than 50 per cent of the women of the dominant party will vote.

In Tennessee, where suffrage was hard fought, the registration record of the women is fine. It will be fifty-fifty with that of the men in many places. It looks now as if Governor Roberts' stand for suffrage would save him from defeat.

In Kentucky the situation is most interesting. A very large woman vote is expected. There the race issue has bobbed up, and is playing an important part.

In the city of Louisville, the storm center of the present campaign, the registration of negro women outnumbered that of the men. The figures are: Colored men, 12,276, and colored women, 12,417. In that city 16,962 Republican white men, and 13,347 Republican white women registered. Of the 46,159 Democrats (white) registered, 24,945 were men, and 21,214 women.

The South is seeing to it that their women, especially the Democratic women, are registered. The men have found that the women are eager to vote, and that they are going to show an independent spirit. In Texas, and Oklahoma the activity of the women is even greater than it is in the older Southern states.

Knott in Dallas News

The Two Adams: It Was My Rib, Eve!

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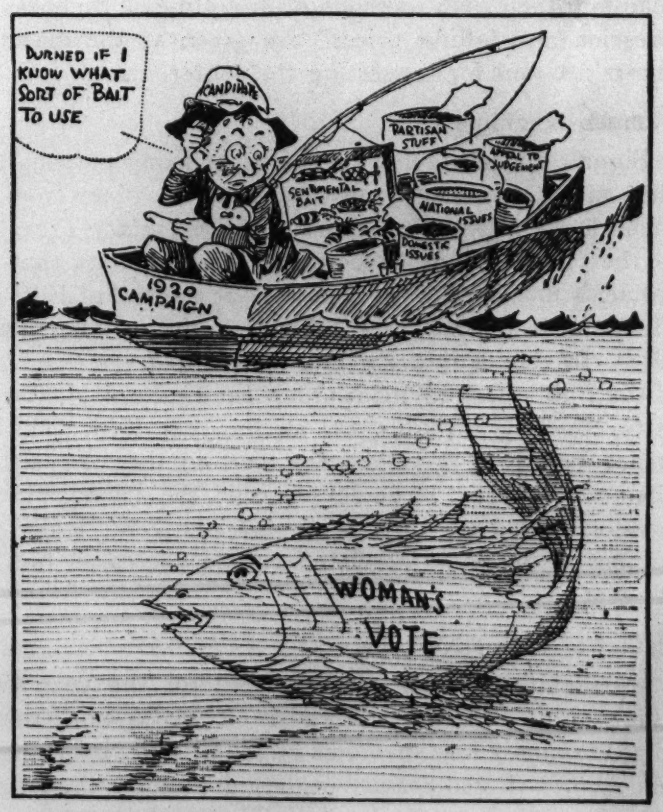
Dolling-Up for Ladies' Day



Chapin, in the St. Louis Star.

The Perplexed Fisherman

Women In Industry

Department Conducted by Marie L. Obenauer

An Important Omission

THE United States Department of Labor not long since received information on the organization of the International Labor Office of the League of Nations. Under the terms of the Versailles treaty the office is controlled by a body of twenty-four directors—twelve to represent member governments, six employers, and six to represent workers. In the list of directing representatives the name of no woman appears, nor is there a woman named on the executive force of the office which is under the general direction of Mr. Albert Thomas, of France, whose deputy is Mr. Harold B. Butler, of Great Britain.

Over the two main divisions of the Office—Diplomatic and Scientific—are Mr. E. J. Phelan, of Great Britain, and Dr. Royal Meeker, of the United States, respectively. Even among the directing heads of the sections no women appear. This is an impressive omission, inasmuch as among the activities of the League's Labor Office are endeavors "to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of Labor for men, women and children."

In the Clothing Trades

The Clothing Manufacturers' Association of New York has approached the representatives of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers with proposals for the revision of working and wage agreements. A committee of representatives of employers and the union will consider the submitted changes, which are said to include a return to the piece-work system, the installation of improved machinery, and the recognition of the right of the employers to maintain their own methods of discipline. "Business depression and falling prices" are given as the manufacturers' reasons for requesting the conference.

Women Machinists

Significant, in view of the belief of many persons that the end of the war saw a great exodus of women from the metal industries, is the report of the Secretary-Treasurer of the International Association of Machinists that the women's membership in that body at the end of 1919 was 11,036, a decrease of but 1,458 over the membership of 1918. In this connection might be noted the testimony of the Public Employment Office Statistics of Massachusetts, covering all industries for the year 1919. The decrease from 1918 to 1919 in the total number of positions filled was reported to be 5.3 per cent, the decrease in the positions filled by men being 8.1 per cent, while the number of positions filled by women decreased but 2.1 per cent.

Strikes of Women Workers

Massachusetts reports 492 strikes for the year 1919, which entailed the unemployment of 194,833 workers and an approximate loss in wages of $8,661,449. It is certain that women shared heavily in these losses, for the largest number of strikes, ninety-three, occurred in the textile industries, and the second largest in the boot and shoe trades, in which large numbers of women are employed.

Something novel in the way of a "silent strike" was inaugurated at a Lynn shoe factory, where without leaving their benches or making other protest, the employes of one department decreased their department's production, thereby slowing up all other sections of the plant, which were choked with unfinished work. This action was adopted as a protest against the diverting to the Lynn factory orders from another establishment where the workers were on strike.

Minimum Wage Legislation

Minimum wage rates for men and women in the bookbinding trades, agreed upon by the local unions of the northeastern and middlewestern districts in 1919, became effective September, 1920. A minimum wage of $36 for men and $20 for women is provided in the northeast, and the midwest rates provide a minimum of $40 for men and $20 for women. The discrepancy in these wage rates cannot be charged wholly to discrimination, as the highly skilled operations in these trades are performed by men.

Housewives Organize

It has been announced that the Washington State Federation of Women Workers, the formation of which was authorized by the recent convention of the Washington State Federation of Labor, will open its membership to housewives. Just what remedy will be provided for the latter in case they desire to protest against their working conditions is a matter for speculation.

In Great Britain

Consul Ross E. Holaday, stationed at Manchester, England, reports that there is a general tendency in the Lancashire district of England to abolish female labor in the spinning rooms of cotton factories. Prior to the war, the mule gate, which is used almost exclusively for spinning in this section, was manned by a master and male assistants, hired and paid by the master. When the war depleted the ranks of male mule spinners and assistants, the employers reorganized the work by employing masters to oil and clean the machines and to supervise the operations, women to do the piecing of broken threads and women to fetch and carry bobbins to and from the machines. Under this system the women were usually paid by the employer instead of by the master spinner. At the close of the war there were still too few male spinners to man the mills. Yet so opposed to women in the mills are the male workers that the master spinners and the employers are entering into agreements to dispense with the service of women as fast as men can be procurred. In the United States proportionately little mule spinning is done, so conditions are not comparable.

English women active in Trade Unions have received gratifying recognition in the first list of women magistrates, which includes the names of sixty labor women as Justices of the Peace.

English labor women are indignant over the failure of the government to include in the bill introduced into the

House of Commons to put into effect certain conventions adopted at the Washington conference, the convention dealing with the work of women before and after childbirth. The Trades Union Congress which met at Portsmouth, September 6-11, representing six million organized trade union men and women, demanded that the government carry out this convention. Protests were also made against Clause 2 of the bill providing for the 2-shift system. This clause was thrown out by a large majority during the Committee consideration, but as stated in the October SUFFRAGIST, efforts are being made to have it replaced. The Committee appointed by the Home Secretary to consider this clause contains but one representative of organized women.

Miss Hanis Smith, an Englishwoman lately admitted to the fellowship of the Institute of Chartered Accountants, is announced by the Institute to be the first and only woman chartered accountant in the world.

The Woman's Section of the English Gardens, Cities and Town Planning Association, in a report recently sent to the Ministry of Health, sharply criticizes the house plans prepared and published by the Ministry in connection with the state aided housing schemes of 1920, and points out that such plans should be submitted before publication to some committee with women members. Such a body is provided in the Housing Advisory Committee, which the Ministry had not called into consultation. After stating that houses of the non-parlour type, which have received the first attention of the Ministry, should have adequate kitchen space, and recommending an enlarged area for the third bedroom, the report reasonably suggests that the chimney should be placed on the inner walls so as to warm the whole house, and that the bathroom should open onto a passage and not through the scullery. That there was room for such suggestions would seem to indicate the serious need for women's counsel.

In Canada

The Nova Scotia Commission on women in industry, whose report on conditions of woman labor was published recently, attributes the low wages paid women generally to the competition of women workers who live at home and are but partially self-sustaining.. The commission's remedy is a Minimum Wage Board representing workers, employers and the public and empowered to fix wages, hours and working standards. The Commission also recommends that the proposed board be empowered to maintain a medical inspection of employes in food factories as a protection to the public health.

As a result of their refusal to withdraw from membership in the United Textile Workers of America, women and girls employed in the Avon Hosiery Mills of Stratford, Ontario, Canada, are the victims of a lockout. The girls, who were engaged in drawing up a new scale, were called together by the manager and given two minutes to tear up their union cards. They were offered an opportunity to register a vote as to whether they preferred membership in the Textile Workers or in a Union of their own to be confined to the Avon Mills. Upon a vote overwhelmingly in favor of retaining membership in the United Textile Workers of America the lockout went into effect.

In France

In contrast to the findings of the British Ministry of Munitions that the output of English women war workers was equal to and in many instances exceeded that of the men workers, are the reports of the French investigations published in *La Probleme du Travail Feminin.* In the Toulouse district, it was found that in all but one process four women were necessary to replace adequately three men. The report points out, however, that women were particularly successful in the lighter and more precise processes, and that lessened output and inferior workmanship were apparent chiefly in the operations requiring greater physical exertion.

In Denmark

The prnciple of "equal pay for equal work" received the official endorsement of the International Congress of Clothing Workers which was held at Copenhagen in August. The Congress adopted resolutions for the abolition of piecework and home work, and called upon the clothing unions of all countries to initiate vigorous measures toward legislative enactment for the regulation of home work, where it has not already been provided for by law.

Vocational Conference

A meeting of the State Directors of Vocational Training was held in Washington October 14 and 15. The conference was called by the Federal Board for Vocational Education for the purpose of discussing the provisions of the recently enacted law providing for the rehabilitation of persons injured in industry, and of getting the proposed work under way as quickly as possible with the active substantial cooperation of the states. The discussion was confined principally to the operation of the law and the privileges and obligations of the states under the law. During the course of the conference, emphasis was laid upon the eligibility of women as well as men crippled in industry or otherwise to the benefit of the rehabilitation act. There is an impression that the law covers only persons crippled by accident or disease suffered during the course of life and labor. This is a mistake, as the law provides rehabilitation for "any person who by reason of a physical defect or infirmity, whether congenital or acquired by accident, injury or disease, is or may be expected to be totally or partially incapacitated for remunerative occupation."

It is to be hoped that every state will realize the importance of appointing a woman to have charge of the rehabilitation work for women under this act.

Legal Attacks on Suffrage Amendment

(Continued from page 268)

fundamental. It is an essential part of local self-government. To deprive a state of it is to extend the Constitution to a field entirely different from any covered by it. It is not properly an amendment, but a revolutionary change. * * * It is not denied that the suffrage amendment might become a part of the Constitution if agreed to by all the states. The contention is that under the Tenth amendment no state can be deprived of the right to regulate local suffrage for state offices without its consent."

West Virginia's ratification is brought into question by the anti-suffragists on the ground that one of the members of the Senate was expelled without a proper vote. The fact is that the member had resigned. But the anti brief says:

"After a resolution to ratify the proposed suffrage amendment had been defeated, the Senate of that state, by a bare majority, voted to expel one of its members, ignored the fact that another had removed from his district, and then went through the form of ratifying, by a bare majority of the quorum, thus illegally obtained, the suffrage amendment."

As to Tennessee and Missouri, it is claimed:

"When, therefore, the Constitution of Tennessee provides that the General Assembly shall not act upon any amendment to the United States Constitution unless the 'General Assembly shall have been elected after such amendment has been submitted' it provides for a properly and orderly representation of the people in that assembly upon the decision of this fundamental question. It is analogous to the submission in 1788 of the original Constitution to Conventions elected in each state after the Constitution had been proposed and submitted for their consideration. In like manner, the people of Missouri had power to declare, as they did in their Constitution that 'the Legislature is not authorized to adopt any amendment or change to the Constitution of the United States which may in any wise impair the right of local self-government belonging to the people of this state.' "

Summing up this line of argument, the antis say:

"We must bear in mind, upon consideration of the question presented, that an extension of the suffrage to one involves a corresponding limitation of the influence of the suffrage as enjoyed by another, so that the right to extend would necessarily imply the right to limit, and, indeed, there is no point at which the National regulation of state suffrage might be halted, if that power be held to exist for any purpose whatsoever, saving under the stress of civil war and reconstruction. * * * How then should the nation disregard or be allowed to disregard and destroy its guaranty to any several state, and in its own proper person to perpetrate an infraction against the Republican Form of Government adopted and desired by that state, the defense whereof the state has entrusted to the United States upon the faith and credit of the guarantee of the United States, disabling itself from its own protection by so doing, and relying solely upon the limitation of National power as it should be declared by the courts?"

On May 4, 1920, a bill was introduced in Congress by Senator Watson, of Indiana, providing for the enforcement of the Federal suffrage amendment, and it was in anticipation of the passage of this bill that anti-suffragists made Attorney General Palmer a party to their suit and sought to enjoin him from carrying out the provisions of the enforcement bill. The Watson bill was still in Committee when Congress adjourned, and can not, of course, be passed until the next session of Congress, which will be after the November election. When such a bill becomes a law, it will afford women the protection of the Federal government in the exercise of the franchise, by providing for the punishment of election officials who would deny them that right. The right to vote under the suffrage amendment is by no means dependent upon such enforcement act, but it will give positive protection in the exercise of the right.

There have been no new developments in the case brought by anti-suffragists in the Tennessee Courts. The Supreme Court of Tennessee granted a writ of supersedeas, setting aside the temporary restraining order against Governor Roberts certifying the action of the Legislature. The final hearing will be at the December term of court.

Wages For Mothers

(Continued from page 274)

heretically maintain that these proportions might be reversed with benefit to the nation.

Administration

The administration of such a system would not be difficult. It should be combined, according to the English report, with existing schemes for child welfare under such an agency as a ministry of health. Necessary supervision of the mothers might be conveniently combined with the work of babies' welfare stations, the mothers being required to report there with their children at certain intervals. The condition of the child should be the only evidence required of the wise expenditure of the endowment on the part of the mother, and inspection of the home necessary only in cases of evident neglect.

One of the most significant results of endowment—barely mentioned by the report—will be a real advance in the efficient care of young children.

Mothers, with time and a little money in their hands, will begin to specialize. Cooperative undertakings, now limited to the middle class, will spring up. Neighborhood groups in which a mother or another trained woman qualified for child care, will relieve several mothers for work in occupations to which their talents attract them, will organize. The nursery school may be hoped for and childhood may no longer suffer the handicap of a neglected age.

Probably no more fundamental, and certainly no more appealing a measure could be fought for by women of all classes than some such scheme as this for the emancipation of the mothers of our country.

Books and the Woman

Department Conducted by Alice Henry

WOMAN,"[1] the first work of a young French writer, Magdaleine Marx, has been received in Europe with pæans of praise, and has already been translated into several languages. Its literary merit is certainly very high, and American readers, if one may judge without having seen the original, enjoy the advantage of a most excellent and sympathetic translation by Adele Szold Seltzer.

Not that the praise of some of the most renowned critics of "Woman" is always intelligent. Listen to Henri Barbusse: "It expresses what never has been expressed before. It expresses Woman." Or Bertrand Russell: "Here for the first time is told the truth about Woman." Stefan Sweig: "Behind the human figure of the woman in it, you see the whole of feminine humanity, and the eternal lot of womanhood." To every one of them, I say, "How do you know?" To begin with, it is only one side of one stage of a woman's life that is even touched upon; the love-life of a woman between twenty and thirty, and of one type of woman at that.

Whatever distinguished men say on the subject of feminism is worthy of careful attention, both because it is rarely what would spring up in a woman's mind, and also because it is an index of the brain-workings of the average man. And no feminist books seem to attract so much attention or excite so much admiration among men, as those which dare to demand greater freedom for women, especially in sex relations. Why is this? Is it because men recognize the expression of feelings similar to their own? Or is it because they suspect that whatever the present-day uncertainties in the relations of men and women, in the long last, greater freedom for women will end in creating higher and more exacting standards for both, and they respect the unspoken claim upon their own better nature?

The unnamed heroine herself, in the closing chapers gives a very beautiful interpretation of individuality. Even as a mother, the mother of a lovely little son, she remembers that she must still be herself, self-supporting, self-sustaining, for that he too, as he grows older, will have his own life, and it cannot be hers.

All Is Not Fair in Love

For one to whom Mary Austin's work means a great deal, "26 Jayne Street"[2] strikes an unfamiliar note. In passages the beauty of the style, a moving bit of description of sky or tree in crowded New York, stirs the reader to thinking of the wide West, where always Mary Austin seems most at home, just as when a telling sentence pierces the veil of human pretenses, and shows the real man or woman in the background. The story is of the reactions of all the kinds of folks who make up our America to the war in its later stages. Out of confusion, and out of the attempt to interpret this confusion, grows the one unusual situation, to which everything else has led up. Neith Schuyler has met Adam Frear in radical circles where he is deservedly a leader, with splendid ideals of sacrifice for the common good to which in public life he has been faithful. He is her accepted suitor, when another, and an earlier, woman appears on the scene. The girl who judges a lover by his proven loyalty or disloyalty to some one else is not so uncommon a type. But Neith Schuyler goes beyond this. What she demands of him when she discovers that he is still entangled in the meshes of a sister woman's affections is just this, that he will be as considerate, as fair and as open in his dealings towards Rose Matlock as she had found him to be in his handling of what the world deems the big questions incarnated in labor struggles and radical demands. Else he is not the man she thinks him, not the Adam she is in love with. And we are left wondering whether Adam, for the present lost to all his friends in Russia, will perhaps one day see it too.

Invincible Minnie

Here is a book[3] very different from either of the above The bohemian surroundings of these are entirely absent. Indeed, Minnie herself is irreclaimably ordinary, and undistinguished by talent, temperament or charm. These gifts are all reserved for others, who, nevertheless, go down before her. She is absolutely remorseless in her determination to have her own way, in spite of sister, or husband, or life-long friend, or of any remnants of principle left over from her early up-bringing. Hardly for self-expression, rather moved by an octopus-like desire to absorb whatever she wants out of the existence of others. The particular channels that Minnie's determination runs in have been decided by her American birth, and her twentieth century surroundings. Otherwise, she is the sole controlling factor in everything that happens to her, most of all in her own shoddy success, to achieve with every one else's life must be stripped bare of satisfaction and happiness. The author handles her plot with rare swing and freedom, and carries the reader along in breathless eagerness up to the very end, to a climax that in its shattering irony might almost challenge life itself.

History Takes Note of Women

"Portraits of American Women"[4] is a happy title. They are not "Lives," as we know such, for the orthodox life has to register an array of facts, more or less relevant, since few biographers are masters of the art of leaving out, and seem conscientiously anxious to use up all the material they have collected. Mr. Bradford has had another aim, as readers of his earlier books will expect. He has selected for his subjects women about whose standing in their own day there could be no question, and about whom a great deal

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[1] Woman. Magdaleine Marx. Thomas Seltzer. New York, 1920.
[2] 26 Jayne Street. Mary Austin. Houghton Mifflin Company. Boston and New York, 1920.
[3] Invincible Minnie. Elizabeth Sanxay Holding. George H. Doran Company. 1920.
[4] Portraits of American Women. Gamaliel Bradford. Houghton Mifflin Company. Boston and New York. 1920.

had already been written. Supplying each "portrait" with a brief half-dozen lines of chronology, he assumes that the reader already knows the story of each of the celebrated women, whose career he depicts, and then he lets himself go in most interesting fashion. He paints for us the woman, as she impresses him, whether it be Abigail Adams, as the serious correspondent of two statesmen, her husband and her son, as well as the housemother, interrupted in her breakfast to see a man who came with pigs; or Harriet Beecher Stowe, whose ready pen was to her such a mighty instrument of preaching—the Beecher gift. All this he does in a finely detached fashion. Further, he has caught the atmosphere of his subjects, of women as different as Mary Lyon and Emily Dickinson, the environment of their day and generation. All good biographies must carry something of this, or they are but dry reading, and Mr. Bradford has a keen and warm sympathy with the life of other times than our own. There is choice for all tastes in the volume, for admirers of Sarah Alden Ripley, Margaret Fuller, Louisa Alcott and Frances Willard.

Woman on the Bench

It is high time we had women judges, and the present seems a fitting moment to call attention to the fact, just as the one remaining obstacle in some of our states has been removed through women everywhere becoming "qualified electors." In "Woman on the Bench," [1] Grace Irene Rohleder, of the Bar of the District of Columbia, gives some excellent reasons why we should press for this reform. There are three women judges only in the whole country (and some assistant judges). A number of instances in court practice are brought forward, where the need of a woman judge in juvenile courts and other courts is very evident. For the sake of women prisoners, of women witnesses themselves innocent who have to give evidence against men, the woman's point of view needs to be represented, and represented not merely by the woman lawyer or the policewoman. In such a question as that of child labor, where the judgment and advice of women was universally cast on the side of the disabled Federal Child Labor Law, it seems a pity that the Supreme Court judges, before whom it came for review, did not include among their number at least one woman. A very careful study of these matters is presented in Miss Rohleder's book, which was accepted as a thesis by the Washington College of Law.

A Cyclopædia of Women

The Halvord Publishing Company of New York are bringing out a Biographical Cyclopædia of American Women, of which the first volume will appear very shortly. It will chronicle the interests and activities of the women of this country. The first volume will include a history of the National Woman's Party. There is great need for such a history, especially for foreign readers, and its publication in this convenient and easily accessible form will be eagerly awaited.

[1] Woman on the Bench. (Pamphlet.) Grace Irene Rohleder, LL.M. Fairview Publishing Co. Washington, D. C. 1920.

Women of No Occupation?

An advance copy has come to hand of "The Farm Woman's Problems," [2] by Florence E. Ward, of the Department of Agriculture. It will shortly be ready for distribution, and can be obtained by applying for it. The farmer's wife and daughters at home are listed in every recurring census as having "no occupation." Ten thousand farm women, who have supplied the facts summarized here, have now placed themselves on record as having ceaseless occupation, so varied and insistent are the demands made upon them. No occupation! When the farm woman is "cook and seamstress, laundress and nurse, family purchasing agent, teacher of her children, and factor in community life, as well as producer of dairy, garden and poultry products." Her average working day is over eleven hours, and as to vacation, only thirteen per cent of those reporting have any. Her hours could be materially shortened, the leaflet points out, were the farmer's house only half as well equipped with modern conveniences and labor-saving devices as is his farm.

The Beginnings of the Woman Movement

When the full history of the emancipation of women is written its groundwork must certainly be an account of women's education, for the curve of one closely follows the curve of the other. In England, under Henry VIII and Elizabeth, royal encouragment was given to noblewomen gently to exercise their minds and acquire knowledge. But the movement died in the short succeeding reigns from lack of stimulus; it was moreover wholly aristocratic. It in no way touched the lives of women of the people. The real onset toward education and a free self-expression for women did not make itself felt until the last decade of the Commonwealth, as Miss Myra Reynolds shows in her substantial volume, "The Learned Lady in England, from 1650-1760." [3] Perhaps the Civil Wars, making new demands upon women, aroused them to a new consciousness of importance and power and obtained for them new recognitions; the parallel seems in many ways close to that of these present years. It may be that the current political movement toward a genuine democracy affected the position of women. It is possible, too, that the general breaking down of all conventions in the period of the Restoration accelerated a natural tendency to remove many of the narrower strictures upon the conduct of women. These interpretations are interestingly suggested by Miss Reynolds. But whatever the cause, the movement was positive and widespread. It continued irresistibly, and has remained fairly unbroken up to the present day.

The interesting fact is that these women of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries boldly staked out new claims. They continued their traditional occu-

[2] The Farm Woman's Problems. Florence E. Ward. Department of Agriculture. 1920.

[3] The Learned Lady in England, from 1650-1760. Myra Reynolds. Houghton Mifflin. Boston. 1920.

pations, it is true. Most of the women whom Miss Reynolds describes were married; she gives picture after picture of women—learned women—who managed large estates, devoted time to benevolence, asprises, brought many children into the world and sometimes taught their large families, and had time besides for tapestry-making and other kinds of handwork. A few of them, like the Duchess of Newcastle, frankly despised the domestic arts; but, rebellious or not, learned or not, most women seem to have practiced them.

Still, at the same time, they struck far afield, into writing, painting, acting, pure scholarship, religious propaganda or controversy, independent travel. The first woman professional writer, Aphra Behn, belongs to this period, and she was quickly followed by many others. Women actors first appeared on the stage after the Restoration. Celia Fiennes was a pioneer traveler, and wrote her accounts some three-quarters of a century before Arthur Young set down his more famous impressions. Elizabeth Elstob, Elizabeth Carter, and Mrs. Collyer were among those who made definite contributions to exact scholarship at a time when exact scholarship was rare. But, perhaps, the most notable pathfinders were those who insisted upon larger and more equal opportunities for women in education. Mrs. Bathsua Makin and Mary Astell both worked out plans for higher schools and colleges for women, and, though their schemes came to no practical ends, their active propaganda undoubtedly blazed a way and helped to widen the breach through which women were to enter upon larger occupations.

It must not be supposed that feminist theory of this period outran its times by any great distance. Miss Reynolds says that two of the most advanced of the women of their day, Lady Mary Wortley Montague and Mary Astell, were agreed as to the divinely ordained leadership of man, and their bitterness of tone when they discussed the inferior place of women implied no thought of positive change. There was as yet no coherent body of opinion; there were only sporadic efforts to formulate questions and try moderate conclusions. But women were gradually being accorded more personal freedom; they were finding contacts outside their homes; and they were winning for themselves a respect for their tangible accomplishments in the larger world of thought and expression—a respect which was sometimes grudging, but which was also often generous.

The door was somehow opened, and if women did not crowd through at once, certainly an impetus toward new achievement was created. It is her warm appreciation of these larger values which makes Miss Reynold's book so important an addition to feminist literature. Its charm lies in the intimacy with which the women are drawn who could lay claim to learning or unusual attainment in this period. "The Learned Lady" is first of all a gallery of portraits which make vivid and delightful the important women of this century. The book is rich in material, both for those who are interested in living personalities and those who care to trace the movements of ideas.

Constance Mayfield Rourke.

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This conference will bring together recognized authorities in their respective fields and especially will make possible a comparison and evaluation of the methods now being employed in various parts of the world for the control of venereal diseases. As far as possible the presentation of set papers will be avoided, it being felt that full and free discussion will be far more helpful to those who attend.

There is no membership fee

For copies of the preliminary program and further information address
Executive Secretary

ALL-AMERICA CONFERENCE ON VENEREAL DISEASES
411 18th Street N. W., WASHINGTON, D. C.

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